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Contents

PAGE

I. NOTES OF RECENT EXPOSITION—Maurice to Temple—The Social Movement in the Church of England—The Cosmic Issues of To-day—What is Man?—The Dilemma of the Prophets—The Preacher to-day 113

II. THE PERSONALITY OF EZEKIEL—PRIEST OR PROPHET? By the Reverend Harold Knight, D.Phil., B.D. (Oxon.), Canterbury 115

III. LITERATURE 121

IV. AN EXPOSITION OF MARK VIII. 14–21. By the Reverend D. Howard Smith, B.A., B.D., Bramhall, Cheshire 125

V. IN THE STUDY—
1. Virginibus Puerisque 127
2. The Christian Year 128

VI. THE JOSEPH SAGA. By the Reverend E. W. Heaton, M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge 134

VII. CONTRIBUTIONS AND COMMENTS—
1. The Idea of Impassibility in the New Testament. By the Reverend A. W. Argyle, M.A., B.D., Gerrard's Cross, Bucks 136
2. The Cup Metaphor in Mark xiv. 36 and Parallels. By the Reverend C. E. B. Cranfield, M.A., Cleethorpes, Lincs 137
3. Water and Spirit (John iii. 5). By the Reverend J. S. Murray, M.A., Ashburton, N.Z. 138

VIII. ENTRE NOUS—Roman Catholicism and Freedom—Thomas Chalmers in Ethiopia—Why Do We Preach? 139

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

Such vast and far-reaching changes are taking place in our social structure at the present time that the publication of Mr. Maurice B. Reckitt's Scott Holland Lectures of 1946, *Maurice to Temple*,[1] is exceedingly opportune. They relate the story of the social movement in the Church of England during the last hundred years, and should not be missed by those who wish to bring themselves up-to-date with regard to the activities of leading personalities in the Church of England in this most challenging and difficult field. It should be noted that Mr. Reckitt confines himself strictly to the social movement in the Church of England, and the careful reader will be rewarded not only by an excellent and comprehensive survey, but by many penetrating judgments which have much relevance to the problems of to-day.

Mr. Reckitt begins his story with the appearance of J. M. Ludlow on the doorstep of F. D. Maurice's home in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, in 1846. He is at pains to show that, while Maurice and Kingsley are great names in this social movement, it was to Ludlow that the original inspiration was due. 'Perhaps it is the chief greatness of Ludlow and Maurice and Kingsley that, with whatever limitations and whatever mistakes, they recognized, as Churchmen explicitly, a responsibility and an opportunity which good Christian men before them of so many schools of thought had refused to admit or failed to see. If it was a tragedy that this recognition had to wait until 1848, it would have been a disaster had it had to wait any longer. From that disaster the Christian Socialists saved both the Church and the nation.'

In his opening chapters Mr. Reckitt describes something of the misery that was created by the swiftness of the coming of the Industrial Revolution, and makes reference to the protests that came from persons so varied as Carlyle, Cobbett, Disraeli, Dickens, and Engels. He notes the publication of Maurice's 'Kingdom of Christ' in 1838, a book which contained in principle almost the whole of his social teaching. It took Ludlow and Kingsley, however, to make the implications of that teaching clear, and, when the Chartist Movement collapsed in 1848, a great opportunity for the Church of England presented itself. 'Three men perceived it, and stood together as far as might be to seize it.'

The Seven Years themselves (1848–1854) next engage Mr. Reckitt's attention. They are known, of course, as the years of the Christian Socialists. But Socialism did not mean to them what it would mean to the Society of Socialist Clergy and Ministers to-day. Not that the term was likely to be less unpopular then than now. It was chosen with deliberate care, for Maurice knew that there was a 'conflict which we must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christian and the unchristian Socialists.'

What then did Maurice mean by 'Socialism'? He certainly, says Mr. Reckitt, meant something a good deal more concrete than that 'new spirit in industry' which has done duty as a definition of Christian social principle at so many Rotary Club lunches. 'Socialism in those days meant that the working class, or some association thereof, should undertake something for themselves.' 'Maurice seems to have seen no farther than a rather rudimentary sort of profit-sharing where large-scale industry was concerned.' If some of the experiments made by the Christian Socialists failed, the long-term effects were good. If Dean Stubbs claims too much when he declares that it was the doctrine of Maurice which for forty years kept the whole forward movement in the social and political life of the English people in union with God and identified with religion, Mr. Reckitt is convinced that the link between Church and people had been re-forged in these years, and that it was never again broken. The immediate results were, however, disappointing, largely due to 'the continued apathy, worldliness, and sectarianism of the nation's Church.'

The seed continued to grow secretly, and there began to appear the Guild of St. Matthew, the

[1] Faber & Faber; 16s. net.

Christian Social Union, and the Church Socialist League. The names of Stewart Headlam, Scott Holland, and, of course, Bishop Gore became prominent. The way was being prepared for William Temple, who as a young Fellow of Queen's is quoted in 1908 as writing: 'The alternative stands before us—Socialism or heresy; we are involved in one or the other.' The Industrial Christian Fellowship, inspired by Studdert Kennedy, was to receive much episcopal benediction. Copec was to lead to Malvern.

In his last chapter Mr. RECKITT sums up the lessons of a century's experience in the realm of Christian social policy, and it deserves very careful reading. 'Social Progress is among the most elusive of human conceptions.' Yet very much has been gained that would make the early Christian Socialists marvel. But our real problems are no longer merely social problems: they have become cosmic issues. There is the international problem in the era of atomic energy; there is the menace of famine; there is the problem of monetary mechanism; there is the psychological failure of our culture, the absence of any hope of great masses of people finding normal satisfaction in their daily work. Mr. RECKITT is not satisfied that the sort of question we should be facing commands sufficient attention. 'What is Man? In what sense is his society a valid and necessary mode of life for the accomplishment of God's will? What is his obligation to the natural resources which his ingenuity enables him to exploit? What are the basic psychological needs of his nature in work and play?' Theology is not related to our social predicaments because of the Barthian influence even upon those who do not wear his mantle. 'I hope it is not impertinent to ask whether what was undoubtedly begun as an effort after a renewed fidelity may not pass in its turn into an escapism.'

The authors of 'Return to Christendom' are commended for their expressed desire no longer to select from among contemporary social programmes the one that pleases them most. They long for an 'autochthonous' sociology, growing from its own Christian roots in dogma, and in tradition. This was Maurice's main idea, and it seems to be Mr. RECKITT's. Such a position enables him to close with further searching questions. How far are the measures being passed to-day the registration of a developing communal sense, or how far do they represent the fatalistic resort to a State power to rescue a disintegrating order from the consequences of the decay of organs through which a healthy society would, more or less, spontaneously function? On this issue Christian thought should be mobilized. Again he asks if we can still see in the 'workers' an oppressed class calling for our especial championship. Who are the climbing boys of 1948? Two things also have been shown in the course of the years. The first is that now a movement is no longer to be welcomed simply because it is a social movement. There must be 'a profound concern for the vindication of the person amid the social pressures of our time.' The other thing that has happened in the course of the years is that the social movement *in* the Church of England is now, in principle, the social movement *of* the Church of England.

Though books on the Prophets are many, we can never have too many of them. The most recent will repay any minister's reading. It has something of the freshness and originality of treatment of Dr. T. H. Robinson's 'Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel' of a quarter of a century ago. It is by Dr. E. L. ALLEN, Lecturer in Theology in the University of Durham, and bears the title *Prophet and Nation: A Reconciliation of Divided Loyalties*.[1]

Dr. ALLEN has published studies in Christian ethics which have received the highest praise from reviewers. He is not in the first place an Old Testament specialist. For that reason, perhaps, he approaches his subject without the cramping inhibitions that so often dull the pages of the professional critic. This is not to suggest that he is just the accomplished amateur, indulging in facile generalizations. He knows the literature of his subject, and, what is even more important, he knows the texts of the prophetical books.

The sub-title to the book is 'A Reconciliation of Divided Loyalties.' As Dr. ALLEN sees it, the fundamental difference between the 'false' and the 'true' prophet was not that between mass-enthusiasm and personal inspiration. Nor was it that the false prophet was a professional. It was that for the false prophet 'the purposes of Yahweh and the policies of the nation were one and the same thing.' He did not, indeed he could not, see that since Yahweh and Israel were what they were, the very existence of Israel was at stake. The true prophet, on the other hand, 'was always a man of two loyalties: rooted as he was in the tradition of his people and passionately devoted to their welfare, he was yet singled out from his fellows to be Yahweh's champion among them and

[1] Nisbet; 7s. 6d. net.

against them.' It is just here that Heschel's concept (in *Die Prophetie*, Cracow, 1936) of the Prophets' 'sympathy' with the Divine *pathos* is so illuminating, and Dr. ALLEN's thesis could have been even more forcibly worked out than it is if he had made use of it.

How did the Prophets work out their dilemma? This is the main theme of Dr. ALLEN's book, and he devotes a chapter to each of the six great Prophets. Briefly: for Amos, Yahweh had to choose between righteousness and Israel, since He could not have both. He chose righteousness, and the conscience of Amos consented inwardly to the choice. Hosea discerned that Yahweh's love for His people would turn even disaster into blessing. Isaiah looked for a remnant, and himself did something to create such a remnant in the group of disciples he gathered round him. Jeremiah in a real sense *was* the remnant, and in the New Covenant oracle he anticipated the creation of a remnant of regenerated souls. In Ezekiel we see the fusion of the two expectations, of a remnant surviving and a remnant created. Finally, 'Second Isaiah is able to restore the broken unity of Yahweh and Israel because he has seen that the truth of the former, and the mission of the latter, are for all mankind.'

As is well known, the Book of Ezekiel is at the moment the most baffling in the Old Testament, and most scholars hardly know where they stand as between the traditional view of its unity on the one hand, and contemporary and often conflicting fragmentary hypotheses on the other. Dr. ALLEN, as befits the competent non-specialist, comes down decisively on the side of Jerusalem as the scene of most if not all of Ezekiel's ministry, and it must be said that he has read his Herntrich to some purpose. He has also something suggestive to say about the Suffering Servant. More, perhaps, than any British scholar so far, his sympathies are with the theory that the Servant was the Prophet himself. Not that he goes all the way. Had the Prophet been asked if he was the Servant, he would have answered: 'I do not know. That is for God to decide. Should he call me to this shame and the glory which lies beyond it, I shall not be found unwilling. But I do not anticipate that it will be so. Rather does it seem that I must die, my work unfinished, and leave the work to another who will come some day, to suffer as I have suffered and by suffering to carry our common cause to triumph.'

Although Dr. ALLEN does not preach to preachers, his book is full of materials for the preacher. As he puts it in his Preface: 'the treatment will be strictly historical and the application to our time should be all the more forceful because the reader is left to draw it for himself.' Prophecy, as Dr. Skinner reminded us, arose out of the peculiar relation in which Yahweh stood to Israel in Old Testament times. It belongs to history, and it can never be exactly repeated. Nevertheless, the preacher to-day does stand between God and his congregation, and even between God and contemporary society, in a position analogous to that of the prophet in ancient Israel; and unless he has something of the double sympathy of the Prophets, with sinful men on the one hand, and the Divine *pathos* on the other, he is in danger of degenerating into a false prophet, crying, 'Peace, peace!' where there is no peace. If he is never conscious of almost heart-breaking dilemma he should look into his heart, and read the Prophets anew.

The Personality of Ezekiel,—Priest or Prophet?

BY THE REVEREND HAROLD KNIGHT, D.PHIL., B.D. (OXON.), CANTERBURY.

THE discussion of the Ezekiel problem has of recent years been centred around the burning question of the Exilic framework of the Book though less attention has been paid to the perhaps more interesting dependent issue of the prophet's personality and its psychological characteristics. The most significant and impressive contributions to the elucidation of the latter problem have been made by Kessler in his study, *Die innere Einheitlichkeit des Buches Ezechiel*, and by Kittel in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. The essays of both these scholars constitute a radical criticism of Hölscher's attempt to discriminate sharply and systematically between a poetical prophet and a prosaic redactor. Kessler, criticizing the adequacy of literary criticism as a means of establishing the authenticity or otherwise of given texts, sheds fresh light upon the matter and places it in a new setting, by indicating the importance of the psychological approach. He asserts that in every writer there is a final and fundamental psychological structure (*eine Urstruktur des Geistigen und des Seelischen*) with which every genuine literary product must be compatible. The basic lineaments

of Ezekiel's personality—logically mathematical thought, laborious thoroughness and depth, and rigidity of mental attitude—are determined by reference to the universally accepted portions of the text and then shown to be not inconsistent with the text as a whole.

Kittel's study likewise arises from a consideration of Hölscher's thesis. He traces in Ezekiel a dual personality—that of prophet and priest, of lofty austere moralist and imaginative poet, a stern dogmatic and ascetic theologian, and yet withal a man of delicate and passionate sensibility with a tendency to the psychically abnormal, the repulsively grotesque. The cleavage is occasioned by the crisis in his life which tears him away from the Holy City and the Temple. Constitutionally a priest, he must willy-nilly become a prophet in exile. The conclusion is that the varied, apparently contradictory aspects of the Ezekiel texts need not imply a plurality of authorship. They are seen to reflect a consistent psychological picture of which the dominant features are the passion and imagination of the poet, the cool reflection of the didactic theologian, the earnestness and fury of the pastor-preacher who, in the heat of his discourse, does not shrink from dwelling on the indecorous and odious, and, through it all, a vein of abnormality manifesting itself now in grotesque, symbolic actions, now in unusual psychical experiences.

Thus there emerges to view a hybrid figure, the fundamental elements of which are furnished by the characters of pastor and priest. Such a figure belongs essentially to the transitional period which lies between the era of inspired spiritual prophecy and that of a legalistic ecclesiastical Judaism. Ezekiel may thus be understood as the progenitor of the latter movement and the last eight chapters of his Book as the crown of the edifice which he rears.

A closer examination of the matter, however, reveals the untenability of this thesis, plausible and logical as it may appear at first sight. The alleged psychological consistency and unity can be shown to be illusory in the light of a deeper investigation of the text and the historical problems it raises. Thus, after the analysis of Herntrich in *Ezechielprobleme*, it is no longer possible to believe in the picture of a priest whose heart is in the Temple at Jerusalem and who reluctantly develops into a prophet by the force of circumstances in exile. The impressive and irrefutable conclusion which results from Herntrich's study is that the figure of Ezekiel with his prophetic fire, his spiritual intensity and vision of God's transcendence, is worthy to be set beside that of Jeremiah and shares the essential characteristics which link together the great creative personalities of the prophetic movement. It is the reality of this kinship which in this article we wish to demonstrate as also we wish to show on general philosophical and psychological grounds the utter impossibility of assigning to such a one those parts of the Book which are didactic, legalistic, and ritualistic in tone. The foundation of Ezekiel's personality is his prophetic consciousness and this is of such a kind as to exclude a genuinely priestly vocation. If this be so it is impossible any longer to envisage him as a priest-prophet who is concerned to purify and resuscitate national, ecclesiastical institutions and so to adapt the prophetic message as to incorporate it in the traditional religion of his countrymen.

We begin to appreciate the fundamental elements in Ezekiel's personality when we consider the character and circumstances of his call. The recovery of the original text containing an account of this makes at once apparent the authentic prophetic rôle of Ezekiel. The traits, which constitute the very essence of the prophetic consciousness as it is decisively differentiated from purely mystical and visionary types of experience, recur here with remarkable exactness. In the account contained in the text-complex 2^{8}–3^{9} we are confronted not by a visionary who is interested in the descriptive record of his subjective experiences but by the phenomenon which is ever central and determinative for the prophetic consciousness, namely, Yahweh's convulsive separation of a man from the throng in order that he may become an instrument of the Word and intervene with dramatic effectiveness in the unfolding destinies of the nation. It is the stumbling, austerely reticent record of a moment in which man is both overpowered and challenged by the sudden intense experience of contact with the numinous Divine. The experience rests upon the Divine initiative, and not its psychological characteristics are important but its theological content and significance. It is one with the experiences through which Yahweh summoned Moses and Samuel and ' rose up early ' to ' send ' His prophets with a solemn and revelatory message.

The contrast between the inaugural vision described here and the Exilic vision of ch. 1 is sharp and conspicuous. The two visions spring from entirely different spheres of experience and repose upon entirely different presuppositions. The one is marked by the realism of the Semitic world-view ; its style is characterized by pregnancy and terseness ; its narrative penetrated by the note of shuddering awe and fear which is ever man's reaction when confronted by the majesty of the living God ; the prophet sees and hears only what is conditioned by the exigencies of the

situation and its challenge. The famous description of the Divine chariot, on the other hand, is a diffuse literary composition, untouched by the breath of authentic prophetic inspiration: its style, in its expansive descriptiveness and laborious precision, recalls rather the deliberate journalistic style of the apocalyptic writers. Again there is an impressive similarity between the call of Ezekiel and that of Isaiah and Jeremiah: in all three cases we have the same type of religious consciousness, the same Semitic view of the human personality as an organism in which the physical and the spiritual are inextricably blended. Just as the Divine hand is mysteriously outstretched in the enshrouding darkness to place the words of prophecy in Jeremiah's mouth, so Ezekiel is bidden eat and digest the roll on which prophecies of woe are inscribed. The prophet's submission to the Divine command is marked by the fact that his physical body must assimilate the fateful prophetic word, and of Ezekiel we are told that this act of obedience produces an ineffable feeling of contentment and peace.

Thus we are already prepared to place Ezekiel in the same family of spirits as Isaiah and Jeremiah and to see him as belonging essentially to the prophetic movement in the great days of its creative impetus and originality. This inclination is strengthened when we consider that Ezekiel is not only a great prophet of towering dimensions, stirred by the authentic prophetic impulse, but in some respects a prophet of a more primitive and passionate type than his peers. For he is an ecstatic '*nabi*' of pathological tendencies, given to the performance of weird symbolic actions, and subject to hypnotism and trance. His personality is mediumistic—a trembling, sensitive instrument, apt to be impaired or paralysed by the storms of passion or the electrically charged consciousness which invade it. He is a poet of intensely vivid imagination and grotesque fantasy, who will shrink from no repulsive detail in order to enforce the awful truth which he sees engraven in letters of fire. It is *a priori* most unlikely that a personality of this kind reproducing, as it were, the characteristics of the prophetic personality in more ethereal and fiery tones, should have been capable of legalistic moralizing and dry didactic exposition, or should have been so politically sagacious as to garner the fruits of the prophetic movement by adapting it to the lower stream of the popular national religion.

Further, the recovery of the real historical situation in which Ezekiel lived and worked enables us to view his personality in clearer perspective. No longer have we to imagine a prophet living at a remote distance from the people whom he is addressing and whose activity as prophet therefore loses much of its directness and power and becomes merged in the activity of pastor and theologian. No longer need we envisage Ezekiel as a purely transitional figure in whom the original characteristics of prophecy as a self-justifying vocation become dimmed, and whose organizing directive action is rather that of the national leader preoccupied with problems of future development. Once again, Ezekiel emerges as a prophetic figure on all fours with Isaiah and Jeremiah. Like them he is charged with a message of unqualified gloom and denunciation for the compatriots among whom he dwells, and like them he must be Divinely equipped and strengthened for its delivery in view of the fierce and bitter hostility which he will provoke. 'Behold, I have made thy face hard against their faces, and thy forehead hard against their foreheads. As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead: fear them not, neither be dismayed at their looks, though they be a rebellious house.' It is not too much to say that these words lose all sense and meaning unless they are addressed to a prophet living in Jerusalem, inspired to deliver a message of woe and lamentation and likely to incur intransigent hatred through his unflinching adherence to the truth he is bidden disclose. Here again, the analogy to the situation of Jeremiah forces itself upon our attention. Ezekiel's prophecies are true to type, springing not from the fantastic imagination or the cool reflection of a distant pastor-priest, but the fruit of inspired illumination in face of the living realities of the momentous crisis in which he, with his contemporaries, is immersed. They are marked with the blood and tears of bitter turmoil and conflict; they are the Divine answer to the problems and questionings which press hard upon the minds of the people as they live through the death-agony of their beloved city and Temple.

Lastly we must remember that Ezekiel, besides being a prophet of great emotional intensity and unusual psychical disposition, was a Hebrew poet of high imaginative order. The principle underlying Hölscher's thesis is of abiding importance. It is essential to distinguish between the prose of the redactor with its Aramaisms and uncouthness, and the spontaneously poetic speech and rich imagery of the prophet. Ezekiel had the poet's fine imaginative sensitiveness to the multiple concrete forms of life in the world around him and he instinctively cast the kernel of his prophetic message in the shape of metaphor or allegory, unforgettable in its homely realism or intense visual picturesqueness. What is especially important for us to realize is that this poetic quality of his mind connects him with Semitic prophecy in its most original and distinctive form, namely

the production of short, inspired, poetic oracles rather than of logical didactic discourse.

Summing up our position we would affirm that the personality of Ezekiel is prophetic to an unusual degree—compact of fire and passion, poetic imagination and ardent sensibility. Under the compulsion of the Spirit, and dominated by the message of woe which he is impelled to utter, his personality is snatched from its normal bearings and rapt into a burning sympathy with the Divine pathos of which he becomes intensely aware. With childlike earnestness he tries desperately to prefigure to his contemporaries the horrors of the event which is about to overtake them. The physical and nervous exhaustion which follows his prolonged ecstasies, involving some kind of torpor and catalepsy, becomes pregnant with ominous significance and foreshadows the endurance of the siege. Under the pressure of his ecstatic inspiration everything within his life and without speaks to him of that which fills his consciousness, namely, the intense and poignant awareness of the tragedy of Israel's sin and its punishment. It is just this overwhelmingly personal, intuitive, inspired realization of the Divine Will which is a differentiating characteristic of the prophetic state of mind and it suggests a mental mechanism akin to that of poet and mystic and the very antithesis of the rational didactic temper.

Turning now to the Book of Ezekiel in its present form, what are the dominant impressions which it leaves upon the mind and are these consistent with the idea of the prophet's personality which we have outlined? It has been justly observed that the Book contains many diverse currents of thought which are not bound together in any organic synthesis. Nevertheless it possesses an artificial unity of composition, a deceptively symmetrical design, even, at the first blush, an apparent homogeneity of style. The reason for this, in our view, is that the literary remains of Ezekiel the Jerusalem prophet have been studiously worked over and embedded in a new literary structure built up by an Exilic School of priestly writers whose concern was with the future development of the national institutional religion. For the salient features of the Book of Ezekiel are in no wise doubtful, as it is equally certain that they contradict all the most distinctive and original characteristics of the prophetic movement. In fact, the legalism, the moralism, the ritualistic ecclesiasticism, the exclusive nationalism which mark the new Church community of post-Exilic Israel are here foreshadowed with an astonishing accuracy if we suppose the whole composition to emanate from one who lived in the days of the decline and fall of Jerusalem. It is not simply that here we are conscious of a declension from the high and fervent spirituality of the great prophets, but we feel that there is an intrinsic incompatibility of outlook between them and 'Ezekiel.' Of all the major prophets 'Ezekiel' alone shows a marked preoccupation with cultus and ritual and this concern is so dominant as to lend unity of spirit and purpose to his work. Thus those ancient religious conceptions which were rooted in the popular mind, which it was the task of the prophets to correct or eradicate and which were finally sanctioned in a purified form by the Priestly Code—such conceptions as the physical contagion of holiness, the confusion of moral and ritual sins, the distinction between sacred and profane, the importance of New Moon and Sabbath, and the whole idea of religion as a matter of outward observance and conformity to established law and custom—all figure prominently in 'Ezekiel' as a canon of religious purity and truth. It is equally certain that this mass of conceptions cannot have sprung from the heart and mind of one who shared the prophetic consciousness as we believe the genuine Ezekiel to have done. For if anything is characteristic of the eighth century prophets it is that for the first time in the history of mankind they advanced the idea of religion as *spiritual*, as having to do with the reason and conscience of man in his interaction with the Spirit of God and this they revealed in opposition to the prevailing conception of religion as *magical*, with its appropriate instruments in cultus and ritual.

It may be urged in reply that Ezekiel was a priest and that unlike Jeremiah his strongest affinities were with the priest-prophets of the sanctuaries. It will be pointed out that no such antithesis between priest and prophet as is here assumed existed in ancient times, since the prophet himself had his niche in the priestly hierarchy which administered the religious interests of the community and thereby secured its well-being. All this is true but does not affect our contention, for the sharpest distinction must be drawn between the canonical prophets and the official prophets of the sanctuaries. To ignore this distinction is to misconceive the essential character of the prophetic consciousness. Whereas the cult prophet relies for his authority and inspiration upon his traditional technique and the privileges of the order to which he belongs, the primary factor about the canonical prophet is his freedom and spirituality, his independence of cult and shrine, the entirely *personal* nature of his authority. The great prophets do not even form a social class apart. Each is aloof and independent of the other, dependent for his sense of vocation upon an inner spiritual urge, direct and inspired and unmediated

through any of the recognized channels. The call to prophesy is an event in the world of Spirit and Grace, belonging to that higher religious consciousness of mankind wherein man stands in the presence of the living God. We regard the religious experience of Ezekiel at the time of his call as decisive for the characterization of his personality and function. Though extrinsically he may be classified as a priest according to the outward order of things, intrinsically he is a prophet, fired by authentic inspiration and bearing a Divine commission to speak originally apprehended truth.

It is beyond the scope of this short study to enter into a detailed examination of the writings collected in the Book of Ezekiel, but we would suggest that to the principle of discrimination proposed by Herntrich—namely, the separation of the Palestinian from the Exilic texts—should be added a new and perhaps yet more vital one, based upon considerations drawn from psychology and theology. Nor is this principle altogether an *a priori* construction, it springs out of an impartial investigation of the texts themselves which reveal opposed and irreconcilable tendencies. Whatever sections are dominated by such priestly characteristics as the ancient conception of holiness, Sabbath observance as a mark of the consecration of the elect nation, the insistence on the exclusive privileges of Jerusalem and its holy mountain as the only rightful place of worship, the condemnation of all other popular worship as idolatry, the emphasis upon the offering of first-fruits, the exaltation of the exiles as the special objects of Yahweh's grace and favour and the spiritual heirs of Israel, the fierce and fanatical nationalism which exults in the subjugation of the Gentiles, seem to us to form a corpus of texts whose spirit is narrowly tendencious and utterly incompatible with the spirit which breathes in genuine prophecy. The authentic Ezekiel on the other hand is the Servant of the Word, the one who, like Amos, utters prophecies of impending calamity upon Jerusalem and the surrounding nations, not because he is a shrewd and far-seeing theocratic statesman with a particular cause to espouse, but because he is driven by his compelling vision of truth and justice, because he is gripped by his overwhelming consciousness of the Word which is ' living and active and sharper than any two-edged sword ' and which is about to embody itself in stupendous, awe-inspiring historic event. The genuine Ezekiel speaks impulsively and imaginatively, in the stress of ecstatic emotion and with child-like zeal and earnestness. He is bidden to make expressive gestures of lamentation. His furious prophetic speech, endowed with a quasi-magical potency, is sufficient to cause the death of Pelatiah. Here we recognize the prophetic word which hews and slays (Hos 6^5). The native cast of his mind causes him to express himself in numerous parables and allegories, never in stereotyped phrase and cliché or arid scholastic argument. The ingrained tendency of his thought is the reverse of that narrow particularism which informs the priestly passages to which we have alluded. His mind is liberal and receptive of diverse influences. His use of Babylonian mythology shows this, while his allegory of Jerusalem and Samaria as two sisters and wives of Yahweh seems to indicate that he belonged to a different historical period from that in which the pretensions of Jerusalem as unique holy ground held sway.

Apart from these general considerations, there are one or two particular points to which we would draw attention. Firstly, the Book of Ezekiel is notable for a theology which belies that of the great prophets and tends to undo their work. We refer to the theology according to which God saves Israel not from motives of healing compassion and love, as is the case in Hosea, but out of self-vindication and the desire to avenge His holy name which has been profaned by Israel's ignominious contact with the heathen. Such a theology is saturated with primitive unmoralized conceptions of holiness and contradicts the central and essential feature of the prophetic movement, namely, its enthronement of moral and spiritual values to a position of transcendent importance. ' I do not this for your sake, O house of Israel, but for mine holy name, which ye have profaned among the nations, whither ye went ' (Ezk 36^{22}). The whole motive behind Yahweh's restoration of His exiled people and their establishment as a cleansed community in Jerusalem is thus that His honour might be vindicated in the sight of the heathen. This idea is subversive of that which forms the precious and crowning contribution of the prophetic movement to the history of religion—namely, the disclosure of God's absoluteness and transcendence. It is flagrantly inconsistent with what Amos taught. Instead of a God whose nature as absolute goodness is reflected in the *destruction* of a sinful people, we have a God whose prestige is bound up with the fortunes of the nation over which He presides. In fact this conception belongs to the sphere of primitive magic wherein the god is the projection of the self-centred desires of the community and exists to secure its well-being. It was the special task of the great prophets to free the religion of Israel from this complex of magical ideas, which in the event proved ineradicable and were assimilated in the religion of priestly Judaism.

Two other elements in the Book of Ezekiel seem to us foreign to the spirit of prophecy, and suggest by their intrinsic characteristics that they belong

to a later date. We mean the passages which expound the doctrine of individual moral retribution and those which are concerned with apocalyptic eschatology. Both these *genres* of literature represent a type of thought which is alien to the prophetic consciousness, and on general grounds of historical development, hardly possible to the creative personality of a prophet of the sixth century. In essence both express man's effort to grapple reflectively and rationally with the problems of theodicy, however bizarre the shapes which apocalyptic assumes. The passages in Ezekiel embodying the dogma of individual morality proceed from a reaction against the fundamental pessimism of the great prophet. They show the anxiety of the Exilic School to build up constructively the life of the war-shattered nation, to enhearten the survivors of the catastrophe and especially to free them from the burdensome entail of the past. The temper of the genuine Ezekiel was the true prophetic temper, expressed in radical, revolutionary criticism of the existing order of things. He was concerned with the enunciation, regardless of consequences, of far-reaching first principles of right and wrong. His prophecies were prophecies of unmitigated woe. Such an attitude is hardly compatible with the shrewd statesmanlike wisdom which would adapt truth to human nature's daily needs in an effort to prepare and organize future development. Moreover, the passage in question (ch. 18) is conceived in a tone of dry scholastic argument which, in its prosaic and stiff legalism, is much more akin to Deuteronomic and priestly legislation than to any prophetic writing. At the same time, the speculative tendency to reflect upon the problems of the individual's destiny links it with the later Wisdom literature.

As for the apocalyptic passage (chs. 38 and 39) it is organically connected with the priestly theology which has moulded the prophecies of restoration as a whole. Thus the motive assigned to the Gog episode and its triumphant conclusion is the same as that assigned to the restoration of the elect Israel—namely, that Yahweh may be glorified and sanctified in the eyes of the heathen. The familiar priestly conceptions and catchwords occur again and again while the underlying *motif* is, as always in such sections, the sanctification, the exaltation and the making known of Yahweh's holy name with the implication that His honour is involved in the well-being of His people and the overthrow of their enemies.

We may now summarize the conclusions to be drawn from our reflections. In one brief paper there is not space to work out in detail the bearing of these ideas (and for this some linguistic study would be necessary) but our object has been to point to the radically conflicting elements in the Book and thereby to show how false is the picture of Ezekiel as the priest-prophet and founder of ecclesiastical Judaism. The separation of the authentic from the pseudo-Ezekiel is not merely a question of *geography*—as much recent criticism implies—but also and more fundamentally, of *psychology*, of human spirit and personality. Our starting-point and indeed the focal point of our whole argument is the prophetic consciousness of Ezekiel as demonstrated by the conclusive religious psychology of his call. This reveals at once the dimensions of a prophetic personality worthy to be set beside the prophetic personalities of Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah. The same conclusion is reached by Herntrich along the path of a reconstruction of the historical and geographical circumstances which govern Ezekiel's prophetic activity. It is unfortunate, however, that having reached and emphasized this conclusion, he immediately vitiates it by raising to a position of central importance the very words which to us constitute the hallmark of the priestly redactor. He writes: 'Like the theme of a Bach fugue this Will (*i.e.* the Will of the prophet's God) speaks through the whole Book of Ezekiel: *And ye shall know that I am the Lord.*' [1] Such a mistake—as we believe it to be—results from ignoring those general psychological and theological considerations which form the basis of our own study. Everything in Ezekiel—his call, his spiritual consciousness, the poetic cast of his mind, the flaming denunciatory tone of his prophecies of woe, his passionate intensity—stamps him as belonging integrally to the prophetic movement. Such a prophetic personality is original, creative, revolutionary, radical, utterly reckless in the enunciation of truth. But the present Book of Ezekiel contains a vast, perhaps a preponderating, amount of material which reveals a personality of a completely opposite kind—the personality of the statesmanlike ecclesiastic, conservative and traditionalist in outlook, whose office it is to minister to the religious needs of the community, whose main concern is therefore with cult and institution, and whose theology is dominated by age-old religious conceptions which are rooted in primitive magic. Try as we will these antithetic personalities cannot be harmonized or blended in a consistent and convincing psychological portrait. They must therefore point to a duality or plurality of authorship. Hence the conclusion which is the outcome of modern criticism, based upon historical and philological research, is strongly reinforced by an inquiry which takes its point of departure in the psychology of religion.

[1] *Ezechielprobleme*, 130.

Literature.

AMERICAN ANGLICANS ON THE LEFT.

Coming as it does from America it is delightful to find that this Anglican symposium, *Christianity and Property*, edited by Professor Joseph F. Fletcher (Westminster Press; $2.50) contains a devastatingly witty description in a manner recalling 'The Screwtape Letters,' of Capitalism viewed ironically as a form of religion, if religion be taken to mean the basis on which man understands the meaning of his own existence, the purpose of his life, and his destiny.

As the interpreter of life's fundamental meaning and purpose Capitalism has indeed a rationale or theology which includes an anthropology, a cosmology and an ethic. Its anthropology is based on the premiss that man's acquisitive instincts are the primary clues to his nature. Personal gain is the mainspring of action, property the symbol of self-realization. The real worth of a man is what he possesses or can earn. The satisfaction in work is not its enjoyability or usefulness but its cash value.

Its cosmology takes economic law as the basic interpretative principle of the universe. Any Governmental regulation of economic activity is an attempt to amend Natural Law. The natural law of supply and demand implies that all private business activity conforms with the Law and all imposed controls are attempts to interfere with it. By its uninhibited operation all social problems will be removed, nations find their true unity and mankind progress to ever increasing pleasure, leisure, and convenience.

In ethics the clue is 'enlightened self-interest.' Good conduct is what is, in the long run, profitable. Value is based on money and the capacity for making money. Education is estimated for its value as vocational training. Labour is an economic problem rather than an issue in human relations. As a religion Capitalism in its ethical aspect translates every kind of valuation into economic terms. And it makes property a sacrament, 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace.'

In all this there is a serious insistence that the matter is primarily a religious controversy. What the world needs is the statement of a new faith in which community will replace property as the sacrament of life. The chapter is ironically framed on the lines of Max Beerbohm's obituary notice of some one who through not accepting any of the conventional formulas of the creed had a profoundly religious disposition, worshipping speed and the British Empire and the Tory party. Yet it is in fact an earnest argument.

The earlier chapters, on Scriptural teaching and the thought and practice of the early, mediæval, and Reformation centuries regarding property, light up the religious, ethical, and philosophical problems it involves. How far from simple the idea of ownership may be is seen at once by asking what is owned and by whom in the case of a plot of land, the property of one man, let on a long lease to another, the lease being saleable, but also burdened by obligations. The later chapters will clear the mind of such as still cherish the silly notion that Socialism means the communal ownership of consumer goods like fountain-pens or trousers or motor cars, for they drive home the truth that in the modern world the point is about the ownership of producer goods, not only land, but those things the possession of which means the power of control of lives and public necessities.

It may be more doubtful, however, than it appears to the writers of this book whether any theological approach to modern economic problems can yield practical guidance. Certainly property regarded as a gift from God must be used in the light of natural law or revelation on principles of stewardship and charity. Religion will guide and inspire religious people. That, however, is a truism. And the proposition that without religion men will not make a success of Capitalism or Socialism or anything else is theology rather than economics. The real question is whether theology can give to people who are not necessarily religious any directive for the solution of the economic problems which present themselves in property as legally constituted by possession and use and social sanction.

Perhaps the only theology which could claim to offer such guidance would be one prepared to hold that in a world where the seat of power and social sanctions are subject to continual changes reflected in legal decisions and legislation the Christian who is enlightened by the Spirit as he steers what he judges the best practical course is receiving as genuine a revelation of God's will as any that is given in natural law or later miracle. And a Church or Christian holding this must prove the genuineness of such belief in the guidance of the Spirit by taking sides in the contentions of the hour. If religion is a real and not an abstract matter it is illogical, insincere, and impertinent to offer counsel from a supposed position 'above the battle.'

It is worth adding that perhaps the wisest, most incisive and forward-looking chapter in this stimulating book is that contributed by V. D. Scudder, a lady eighty-six years of age.

R. W. Stewart.

THE BAPTISTS OF ENGLAND.

In *A History of the English Baptists* (Kingsgate Press; 12s. 6d. net), Dr. A. C. Underwood, Principal of Rawdon College, has provided a scholarly and readable book which should prove of interest and value to many besides Baptists. The story of a people always marked by strongly individualistic and radical traits is clearly set forth. They had their forerunners among the Continental Anabaptists and Mennonites, though

direct connexion has often been questioned. In England there have been two streams: General Baptists, Arminian in theology and connexional in polity, and Particular Baptists, who were Calvinists in doctrine and independent in polity. Both groups grew rapidly during the Commonwealth, survived the persecution of Restoration times, but suffered decline in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Revival came in due course, and at the end of the spacious Victorian Age the two streams were able to unite in the Baptist Union.

Dr. Underwood adopts Troeltsch's distinction between the Church-type and the Sect-type, and claims with him that churches of the latter type 'often represent in a very direct and characteristic way the essential, fundamental ideas of Christianity.' From each generation he selects personalities and gives vivid pen-portraits of them. This is one of the notable features of his book. Carey, Robert Hall, Alexander McLaren, Spurgeon and J. H. Shakespeare are well-known Baptists. Many will learn with surprise of the Baptist connexions of Thomas Guy, of Guy's Hospital, Sheraton, the furniture designer, Sir Henry Havelock and Thomas Cook. There is ample evidence in these pages that Baptist influence in the eighteenth century spread far beyond 'the labouring classes,' who were described by a reviewer in a recent issue of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES as then 'their own preserves.' The careful references to original sources and to recent British and American works on the Puritan tradition are particularly welcome. There are also sixteen well-chosen illustrations and a characteristically judicious Foreword by the late Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke. Throughout, there can be traced the influence of the *doyen* of Baptist historians, Dr. W. T. Whitley, to whom the book is felicitously dedicated. Dr. Underwood has confined himself to England. He makes few references to Wales or Scotland, or to Baptists overseas, but it may be confidently anticipated that this attractive and informative book will long remain a standard work.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

SEAL IMPRESSIONS IN NUZI.

In Volume XXIV. of *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* Dr. Edith Porada, under the title *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven; $3.50), gives a photographic reproduction of over a thousand cylinder-seal impressions, describing them in detail, classifying them according to glyptic style and artistic motives and citing parallels from other collections. Nuzian seal-cutters were inferior in technique to those of the best periods in Babylonia and Assyria and the impressions in this volume, reproduced from excavated tablets, are in many cases less complete and well defined than impressions made in a modern laboratory from extant cylinder-seals; they are also sometimes inconveniently small. The range of subjects portrayed is restricted, since all the impressions came from the Hurrian city of Nuzi and date from about the second half of the fifteenth century B.C., but it includes themes derived from Babylonian, Syrian, Kassite, and Cappadocian art. Many of the impressions represent ritual scenes and Dr. Porada finds in some evidence to support Sidney Smith's and Frankfort's theories of an Assyrian ritual around a sacred tree or pole and she discusses representations of ritual dances, including masked dances and what seems to be a circular dance of women. She derives the glyptic development of the sacred tree from an original 'lion-club' (a sacred ceremonial mace with two feline heads) evolving on the one hand into a vase and on the other into a flower or 'bouquet' which gave rise to the characteristic 'bouquet-tree' of Nuzian seal-impressions. Among the few mythological scenes represented are a 'battle of the gods,' the death of Humbaba, and the attack of two gods on a bull-headed snake. A useful index of seal-owners' names completes a scholarly, valuable, and well-produced work.

CECIL J. MULLO WEIR.

LIGHT ON THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

That the behaviour of Londoners under the blitz was very remarkable is known to all. We did not know, however, that under the baptism of bomb and fire a scholar would, or could, have found it possible to pursue any really scholarly work. Yet the Rev. E. G. Rupp, B.D., did so in 1940–1 and 1944–5, and the fruits are now in our hands in *Studies in the Making of the English Protestant Tradition* (Cambridge University Press; 8s. 6d. net). The book, as the title implies, is a series of essays. They are not only of deep interest owing to the dreadfully untoward circumstances under which they were written, but they are of first-rate value, such that no student of, or writer on, the Reformation in England can neglect them. They are based on an immense range not of mere reading but of research; and bring before us names and movements which are almost forgotten, but are of real importance. We get information as to the work and influence of the descendants of Lollardy and the Cambridge reformers. We have a practically new field laid bare in the exposition of the negotiations of England with the Schmalkalden League, and the influence of the Continental Reformers; and in the third part, interesting chapters on 'Justification by Faith and the English Reformers' and 'The Protestant Martyrs of Cambridge University 1531–58.' An admirable bibliography and index are appended. All through the documentation is adequate. Finally the book is written in crisp, easy, literary style.

W. D. NIVEN.

To the already abundant literature available on psychology and the work of the minister a good addition has been made by the Rev. John Martin in *From Failure to Fulfilment* (Allen & Unwin; 7s. 6d. net). It merits the commendatory Foreword by Dr. Leslie D. Weatherhead. It is based

on a long experience of dealing successfully with people burdened mentally and in emotional distress. Mr. Martin is concerned that the right approach is all essential and the right approach, apart from certain personal qualities, is knowledge of normal mental processes. So while the book bears the sub-title 'A Minister's Notebook on Psychological Method' it is much more than a number of 'cases.' It sets forth the ascertained facts of normal psychology and against that numerous cases of the abnormal or distorted. Both Dr. Weatherhead and Mr. Martin deprecate the idea that psychological 'healing' is a task lightly to be undertaken by *any* minister. Long study and growing experience are essential, and not every one is fitted for the delicate and often difficult task.

Grimshaw of Haworth, by Mr. George G. Cragg, M.A. (Canterbury Press; 6s. net), is a Study in Eighteenth Century Evangelicalism. It deals with the new life that came into the Church of England through the Movement of which the Wesleys were the prominent instruments. Grimshaw became incumbent of Haworth in 1742 when there were twelve communicants. In 1749 there were three hundred in winter and twelve hundred in summer. Charles Wesley preached for him to a crowded church, with three thousand outside in the churchyard. Grimshaw was a hard-working, gospel minister. Four biographies of him appeared within fifty years. John Newton wrote a 'life' of him in a series of letters to a friend. Henry Foster Grimshaw is hardly a name to-day, unless there is any truth in the story of his fetching his congregation from the alehouse with a horse-whip. The present biography is a narrative full of interest, not only as the story of a saintly man but as part of the story of the contribution which the Evangelical Revival made to the life of the Church of England.

The Beckly Trust made an excellent choice when they invited Professor William Warren Sweet, Ph.D., of Chicago University, to come to England to deliver the Annual Lecture to Methodists on the social implications of Christianity. What he gave is published under the title, *The American Churches* (Epworth Press; 5s. net). Dr. Sweet has already published much on American religion and in this book the non-American will find much of almost fascinating interest. Why the work should be described on the 'jacket' as 'a history of American Methodism' is one of the oddest things. It is nothing of the sort. Methodism naturally gets fair place, but the book deals, as it claims in its title to do, with the American Churches. Of American Churches, as we know, there are many—about 250! We did not know there were so many. We did not know that some time ago in one city there were eleven brands of Presbyterians! Dr. Sweet traces clearly the historical causes and occasions for the diversity. They lie partly in vast and varied immigration, in the North and South tension, in the colour-question, and in the extreme individualism of American life.

He gives an exposition of the reasons which led the Protestant Churches of America to devote so much attention to 'the practical application of the Christian message to Society,' and is specially interested in revealing the 'historical roots' for it. He has given us altogether a book of illumination and interest.

The extension of religious education to the Secondary Schools, where it had been very imperfectly given, has conferred a priceless benefit on youth at the most critical and important age. But it has raised one great difficulty. Obviously, children at the adolescent age are much more difficult to satisfy religiously than younger children. They begin to ask hard questions and are not satisfied with traditional answers. Plainly, at the Secondary School age religious instruction should be given by an expert, and an expert is not always available. In default of this a good deal of help can be given by such aids as the Oxford and the Cambridge Handbooks to the agreed syllabuses. And there are other books, such as *Religion and Adolescent Character* (Lutterworth Press; 10s. 6d. net), by Mr. W. H. Backhouse, M.Ed., B.Sc., F.C.P., Dip.Ed., who is Lecturer in Education at Freckleton Training College. This is a sound and able book which can be commended to teachers. It covers the whole ground, dealing with training in worship as well as the development of character. It has a chapter on Psychology and the Curriculum, on teaching doctrine, on controlled experiment, and the closing chapters are given to an examination of agreed syllabuses with a suggested syllabus of the author's own. The whole book is worth reading and will greatly help the conscientious teacher.

For thoughtful devotional reading *The Prince of Life*, by the Rev. Marcus L. Loane, M.A., Vice-Principal of Moore Theological College, Sydney (Marshall, Morgan and Scott; 7s. 6d. net), may be warmly commended. The Archbishop of Sydney says of it that all who value thoughtful and reverent consideration of the gospel story will be glad to include this book in their library. It deals with the Gospel narratives of the Resurrection and is divided into three parts—The Naked Cross, The Empty Tomb, and The Risen Lord. There is a fine spirit in these chapters, and, though not primarily apologetic, they contain a helpful summary of the evidences for the genuineness of the Resurrection.

Most preachers have to find out, by trial and error, the way to preach. But the best of them are none the worse of good counsel from an experienced hand. And they will get some excellent guidance from the Rev. S. P. T. Prideaux, Canon of Salisbury. He deals with the preacher himself, with the message, with delivery and the rest of it, and there is a great deal of shrewd common sense in what he says. His book is called *The Making of Sermons* (Mowbray; 3s. 6d. net). In

a previous generation we had a great series of books—the Yale Lectures on preaching—in which the most famous preachers in Britain and America embodied the lessons of their experience. Recently we have had the Scottish Warrack Lectures, which were also useful. Perhaps the best advice to give a young preacher would be: Read all that the wise have to say about your job and then find your own way.

Evangelical Christianity, with its emphasis upon the revelation of God in history, is usually impatient of the more esoteric forms of mysticism. Few evangelicals are thoroughgoing mystics; they would say they have no need to be. It is only when religion becomes divorced from history, or when faith has become stereotyped in systems that make an apparently impassable gulf between man and God, that mysticism properly speaking flourishes. This is conceded by Dr. Gershom G. Scholem, Professor of Jewish Mysticism in the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (Schocken Books Inc., New York; $5.50). It is an authoritative book and very lucidly written. It consists of nine lectures, beginning with the general characteristics of Jewish mysticism, followed by descriptions of the early Throne-mysticism down to the latest phase of Hasidism, together with extensive notes and bibliography. Professor Scholem shows clearly that Jewish mysticism has a character in keeping with the faith from which it sprang, and he challenges many opinions about it which have been generally accepted by Jews and non-Jews alike. For students of the subject this is a book of the greatest importance, and even those who by experience or temperament are disposed to give the subject a wide berth will find much in it that is valuable.

The Byzantine Patriarchate, by Brother George Every, S.S.M. (S.P.C.K.; 12s. 6d. net), covers the period A.D. 451–1204, and for a somewhat limited class of reader will prove very valuable. For the general reader one doubts if it will prove digestible. It is a work of very real scholarship, carefully documented, and illustrated with four maps and eight admirable reproductions of Byzantine ecclesiastical art. In normal times the work should, and probably would, have been much expanded. It contains the long, sad, dreary story of ecclesiastical 'far-off things and battles long ago.' In the earlier chapters the author disclaims originality; yet his review takes account of all the important literature, including the most recent. The problem on which he has suggestions to make, and they deserve close attention, is to try to understand the real cause or causes of the schism between West and East. Too often have the occasions or the flimsy pretexts been taken to be the causes. It is well to emphasize that to the Easterners the claim of the Pope was intolerable; while to the Westerners the position assigned in the Church by the East to the Emperor was no less intolerable. At every stage in the old Christological controversies political factors were of paramount importance.

The School of Manhood, by the Rev. Dorothy F. Wilson, M.A., B.Litt. (S.C.M.; 6s. net), is a book of wise, gentle, and persuasive Christian teaching and advice, combining a modern appreciation of the problems of religion and a practical interest in their bearing upon conduct and devotion. The pages on Personal Relationships are perhaps the most notable; the whole book is gracefully and unpretentiously good.

Pauline Predestination is the Tyndale New Testament Lecture for 1945 (Tyndale Press; 2s. 6d. net). It was delivered at a Conference promoted by the Inter-Varsity Fellowship, and the lecturer was the Rev. Francis Davidson, D.D., Principal of the Bible Training Institute, Glasgow. It deals with the Pauline vocabulary, the Pauline context, and the Pauline doctrine as derived from both vocabulary and context. Dr. Davidson claims that it was Paul who developed the doctrine of Predestination 'to its height.' It is a claim that made us pause. But later he allows that Paul did not shape his doctrine into 'a perfect logical system.' In concluding, Dr. Davidson expresses the opinion that the Pauline Predestination, to which he heartily subscribes, is incompatible with any doctrine of universalism or with the Arminian view, but is substantially reproduced in Augustinianism, Calvinism, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Thirty-Nine Articles. 'While Calvin may have stepped aside in pursuing his relentless logic, in positing a doctrine of damnation, and sacrificing instinctive love to the necessities of an ideal system of theology, on the whole his teaching is supremely Pauline.'

Sacraments in the New Testament (Tyndale Press; 2s. 6d. net) is the Tyndale New Testament Lecture for 1946. The author is the Rev. P. W. Evans, D.D., Principal of Spurgeon's College, London. The lecturer's main purpose is to present the case, in the light of recent discussions, for the Dominical institution of Baptism. If we cannot accept the Dominical institution of the Sacraments, they are then reduced to denominational rules. If we do accept it, we must use and interpret them, not according to later developments in theology and practice, but in the light of the will of their Institutor. It is on Baptism, as already indicated, that Dr. Evans concentrates; and he contends very ably that the probability of such a command as is recorded in Mt 28^{19} is attested by the teaching and practice of the Early Church.

An Exposition of Mark viii. 14–21.

By the Reverend D. Howard Smith, B.A., B.D., Bramhall, Cheshire.

The importance of this passage lies in the significance of Christ's words of rebuke to His disciples (*v.*[15]): 'Take heed, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod.' The suggestion that this verse, although an original saying of Jesus, has been intruded by Mark into the passage is unjustifiable. Though it does seem that the narrative would read more straightforwardly without it, a careful study of the passage shows that it is this verse which provides point to the whole incident. Jesus meant it to be a sharp rebuke, and so it was understood by the disciples, for it leads them to mutual recriminations. 'And they reasoned one with another because they had no bread.' A great deal depends upon the interpretation that is put upon the word 'leaven.'

The reproof is given when Jesus is made aware of the fact that the disciples had forgotten to take bread for the journey, there being only one loaf in the boat. It was evidently customary for the disciples to take food for their journeys, as we see, not only here, but in the incidents of the feeding of the five thousand and the four thousand. Why, then, on this occasion had they neglected to take bread? Was it just that they had 'forgotten' or was there some deeper motive? The word ἐπελαθοντο translated 'forgot' in the R.V. can also mean, 'They neglected.' The sense of the verb ἐπιλανθανομαι is that of no longer caring for, or neglecting, and there seems good reason to believe that, on this occasion, the disciples of Jesus were guilty, not merely of chance forgetfulness, but of wilful and deliberate neglect. It should be obvious that the fact of there being no bread was of small account to Jesus, and would not have called forth a stern rebuke. As so often in His dealings with the disciples it was a state of mind and heart evidenced by their neglect which called forth condemnation. Jesus saw that a leaven was already at work in their hearts which, if not checked, would be destructive alike of His mission and His own Person, a leaven which He could see clearly at work in the Pharisees and the Herodians.

It is interesting that Mark does not attempt to explain what the leaven was. Both Matthew and Luke attempt explanations, and both are unsatisfactory. Matthew speaks of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees and explains it as 'teaching' (Mt 16[5-12]). Luke, in another context, refers to the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy (Lk 12[1]). The leaven is neither the teaching nor the hypocrisy, but something more deadly than either. In Mark's account, which seems the more primitive and trustworthy, Jesus explains His rebuke to the disciples by referring them to the two incidents of feeding the multitude (*vv.*[19-21]). This seems to have puzzled the commentators instead of enlightening them as to the true meaning of *v.*[15].

In one respect there was a similarity between the aim of Jesus and the aims of the Pharisees and the Herodians. They were all concerned to establish a kingdom. The aim of the Herodians was purely political, to restore a national kingdom under one of the sons of Herod the Great, and to unite the whole of Palestine again under one rule. Herod Antipas himself, though a puppet of Rome, seems to have lived in veiled opposition to the Roman Procurator who ruled in Judea, and was only concerned for the extension of his own power and the enhancement of his own dignity. The Pharisees, on the other hand, wished to see a Messianic kingdom, but one that was ultra-nationalistic, and based on the narrow legalistic principles of their faith. To attain success, Herodians and Pharisees alike must win the support of the common people. To do this it was necessary to delude them with hopes of emancipation and freedom, and harness to their causes the burning religious zeal which could be fanned to a flame by a strong prophetic figure, such as Jesus was proving to be.

The increasing popularity of Jesus had attracted the attention of these leaders, and they saw in Him, and in His movement, something which they must either crush, or control and use for their own ends. Their aims, their ambitions and their ideas of the Kingdom were essentially worldly, and based on military force. Jesus knew that if their schemes were realized the common people would exchange the rule of a distant Cæsar for local taskmasters even more domineering, selfish, cruel, and rapacious. He came to give men life, peace and freedom; but He knew that these were qualities of the spirit, and they could grow and expand only through self-forgetful service and love of men.

In the disciples' neglect to take bread Jesus saw the seeds of the same selfish, grasping, domineering spirit which animated the Pharisees and the Herodians. The disciples, knowing that Jesus was now popular with the crowd, and in a

position to make demands upon them, saw no reason why they should any longer make simple provision for their journeyings. Were there not plenty of wealthy people among the crowds who flocked to hear Jesus? He had only to express the desire and He and His disciples would be feasted and lionized wherever they went.

Jesus condemned the leaven of the Pharisees and the Herodians by contrasting it with His own 'leaven,' that spirit of unselfish, uncalculating love which had so wonderfully manifested itself in the feeding of the multitudes. That is why He refers to these two incidents of feeding. If only His disciples could understand how immeasurably more powerful His 'leaven' was in producing the Kingdom among men, they would root out of their hearts the mean, grasping, calculating and self-seeking spirit of the Pharisees.

The orthodox interpretation of the Feeding of the Five Thousand is unsatisfactory for many reasons; but the chief reason is surely that, in centring the attention on Jesus as a supreme miracle worker with unique powers of control over the forces and processes of Nature, it has failed to stress the crucial importance of this incident in regard to the fundamental message of Jesus and the establishment of the Kingdom of God among men.

Scholars who cannot accept the 'Nature' miracles at their face value have pointed out that a miracle of this kind performed before a huge crowd is alien to the methods used by Jesus in teaching the people the message of the Kingdom. Furthermore a 'sign' of such magnitude should have been sufficient to convince the most obdurate Pharisee that Jesus had extraordinary and God-given powers, and yet, soon afterwards, the Pharisees are still seeking for a 'sign.' By performing such a 'miracle' Jesus would have been playing right into their hands, and actually giving way to a temptation which, as the Temptation narrative shows, He had resolutely put behind Him. As we have said above, the disciples were in the habit of preparing food for their journeys. Is it too much of a strain on the imagination to think that many of the peasant groups which went to hear Jesus prepared provisions in precisely the same way?

The importance of these two incidents of feeding the multitude, one of which is recorded by all four evangelists (and there is no reason to suppose that we have a doublet here), lies in the fact that they show Christ's 'leaven' of unselfish love and willing sacrifice actually at work, producing results in the hearts of ordinary selfish and self-centred human beings. The Feeding of the Five Thousand thus becomes the occasion of the first corporate realization of the Kingdom of God on earth, and the real starting-point of Christ's Church. Jesus took the loaves which had been provided for the needs of Himself and His disciples and He lovingly broke them and had them distributed. The spirit of that completely unselfish act of love worked like leaven in the huge crowd. For the first time all self-centredness, and the divisions of 'mine' and 'thine' were forgotten. Each shared with all. Some had brought more than enough, as many people still do when they provide food for a journey. Some had improvidently brought nothing at all, expecting to snatch a bite at some wayside inn. But all shared what they had, and all ate and were filled. And to force home the lesson, Jesus had His disciples gather up the fragments and broken pieces which remained over, and they filled twelve baskets. Thus, for the time being, the Church of Christ was actually in being, a fellowship of ordinary sinful men and women with Christ at the centre; through the inspiration of His love and sacrifice, and under the blessing of God, learning to share and give and serve, and so bountifully fed that they had abundance over to help meet the needs of the wider world.

So then, to understand the passage Mk 8^{14-21} we must turn to the incidents of the feeding of the multitudes. To guard His disciples from the 'leaven' of the Pharisees, Jesus would remind them of the true purpose of His mission, and the inwardness and spirituality of His method. All throughout His ministry, in the hearts of His disciples the 'leaven' of the Pharisees and of Herod was to strive for mastery over the spirit of humble service and brotherly love which Jesus was seeking to inculcate. He was ever warning them to beware of the spirit which strives for pre-eminence, which loves the praise and flattery of men, which seeks position and power, and fosters pride. 'The Child in the Midst,' 'the incident before the Samaritan village,' 'the washing of the disciples' feet' were all meant to show that His Kingdom can only be established in men who have the spirit of self-surrender and sacrificial love. For a while it seemed as though the 'leaven' of the Pharisees had triumphed, for His disciples all left Him to face alone the sufferings and pains of Calvary, but the foundation and continued existence of Christ's Church is proof that Christ's own spirit triumphed and still triumphs in the hearts of His own.

In the Study.

Virginibus Puerisque.

See-Saw.

By the Reverend John B. Nettleship, B.A., B.D., Carlisle.

'He must increase, but I must decrease.'—Jn 3^{30}.

I wonder if twins always quarrel? I don't think they do, but Harry and Barry, who were twins, always seemed to be quarrelling. The trouble was that they always wanted the same thing at the same time. If Harry was playing with the engine, Barry decided that he wanted to play with it. A minute before nothing might have been farther from his head than playing with the engine, but because Harry had it, Barry decided that he wanted it! Similarly, if Barry happened to have the wheelbarrow, that would be the very toy that Harry wanted! So I am afraid that almost every game they played was really tug-of-war, with Harry pulling at one end of a toy, and Barry pulling at the other!

Then their father had a very bright idea. He would give them something that they could both play with at the same time—he would make them a see-saw in the garden! There could surely be no quarrelling then because they would simply *have* to do the same thing at the same time. At least, so their father thought. But the twins hadn't been playing on the see-saw very long before there were sounds of quarrelling from the garden. Father went out to see what was the matter, and there the twins were going up and down on the see-saw, but Harry (or it may have been Barry) was screaming with annoyance. When he was up in the air he screamed, 'I want to be down like him.' When he was down he screamed, 'I want to be up like him.' Harry still wanted to be doing what Barry was doing!

But neither Harry, nor Barry, nor father, nor mother, nor the man who invented see-saws, nor all the king's horses and all the king's men could do anything about it. See-saws are made like that. Harry had to go down, so that Barry could go up.

And life is like that too. Sometimes we have to go down, so that somebody else can go up. It is what we call in life unselfishness—putting others before ourselves.

Do you remember the story of John the Baptist? At first he was very much in the limelight, and crowds of people came to hear him and to be baptized by him. Then Jesus began to preach and teach, and gradually the crowds slipped away from John to Jesus. Some people would have been angry and jealous if they had been John, but he was not. He said, 'He must increase and I must decrease.' John knew that having pointed men to Jesus, and having prepared the way for Him, he himself must now quietly fall into the background.

Remember, too, how Jesus, though He was the Son of God, came down from heaven to earth. He came and lived our earthly life, that we might learn the way of happy life which God wants all His children to live. It was another case of going down, so that someone else might go up.

Jesus wants us to follow Him in this sort of life and there are all sorts of ways in which we can do it. Every time you give up something for the sake of some one else you are going down so that they can come up. If you give away one of your toys (not one you are tired of, but one you would really like to keep), then you are doing as Jesus did.

Sometimes in these days you hear people grumbling a great deal about shortages of this, that, and the other thing. They say how miserably small the rations are. But I know some people who, instead of grumbling like that, send a part of their very small rations to Europe where people are starving. That again is going down in order that some one else may go up.

While we are thinking of the ways in which we can do this for other people, do not forget to thank God for all the people who have done it for us—mother and father, and friends and teachers. Often we have gone up because some one else has gone down for our sakes. Let us be truly grateful for it.

The Invisible Shepherd.

By the Reverend A. W. Argyle, M.A., B.D., Gerrard's Cross.

'Thou God seest me.'—Gn 16^{13}.

There is an old, old story of an Eastern shepherd who found a wonderful golden ring containing a precious jewel. He put the ring on his finger and decided to wear it. As he was sitting with some other shepherds, he happened to turn the ring round till the bezel which held the jewel came to the inside of his hand. On his doing so he became invisible to his companions, and they began to speak of him as of an absent man. In his astonishment he touched his ring again and turned it so that the bezel came back to the outside of his hand. As he turned it, he became visible again. He realized that this was a magic ring, and that possession of it enabled him to become invisible whenever he liked. He decided to take advantage of this fact—to steal without anyone seeing him, and to get rich by dishonest means with impunity.

Before finding this ring he had been considered a very good and honest man. But when he obtained the ring and discovered that he could do things without anyone seeing him, he began to do all sorts of wicked actions. Whenever he wanted to steal or do anything wrong, he just turned the ring and became invisible so that no one would know what he was doing. When he thus had the chance to do evil without any one blaming him or punishing him he seized the opportunity. We

are bound to suspect that before he found the ring he had only done what was honest and right because he wanted those who saw him to praise or reward him, and because he knew that if he did wrong he would be blamed or punished. His character had not changed with the finding of the ring. That magic ring had simply shown what his real character had been all along. He had not loved goodness for its own sake, but had only done right to win the rewards of right action.

Now what would *you* do if *you* had that magic ring? Would you always do the right thing even if no one could see you? What sort of things do you in fact do when you think no one is watching you? That is the real test of character. A wise thinker has said that our real religion is what we do when we are alone. If we only do the good things when others are watching us, and do bad things when we think no one is watching us, then we do not love goodness for its own sake. We are merely pretending to be good. Jesus called such people 'hypocrites,' which means 'actors.'

Of course Christians believe that we are never really alone. God is always with us and He can always see us. That belief helps Christians to do good and avoid evil, even when no human being is watching them. Christians know that God, who is always watching us, loves us so much that He gave His only Son to be our Saviour; so that they would hate to do anything that would displease Him, and they love to do the good thing that He loves. But some people have used this belief, that God is always watching us, in the wrong way, and have done right only because they wanted God to reward them or because they feared He would punish them if they did wrong. They were really no better than the shepherd in our story. Their characters were not really pure and good; their motive was love of self instead of love of God. True Christians do good for the love of God and His goodness, because it pleases God who loves us with all that wonderful love that we see in the Lord Jesus.

If we let Jesus cleanse our hearts, then He will give us pure motives and holy desires. 'Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me.'

The Christian Year.

FIRST SUNDAY IN LENT.

Ordeal of Temptation.

BY THE REVEREND GEORGE M. DRYBURGH, M.A., GLASGOW.

'Receive not the grace of God in vain.'—2 Co 6[1].

Paul seeks in the course of this Epistle to commend his ministry not in any boastful and self-assertive sense but rather in the spirit of the Master's own words—'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.' In this he teaches us the sense in which we Christians are to defend ourselves, namely, not as being touchy about our personal honour but only as being personally implicated in upholding the honour of Christ. Our life and service are to be of such a quality that, whatever befalls us and whatever we do, we shall be able with clear conscience to show that the good name of our Lord is in no way tarnished but rather glorified. Nothing was so dominant in Paul's mind as his anxiety lest his life, his deeds, his words should seem to show that he had received the grace of God in vain. In the passage before us we have a cross-section of Paul's daily life as an apostle, and perhaps it is a passage of special relevance to ministers. 'An ordinary Christian,' as Denney truly says,—'an ordinary minister of the gospel —may well feel, as he reads, that his own life is by comparison empty and commonplace.'

But the passage presents more than a vivid account of the range of Paul's experiences. It sets before us that realm wherein we are face to face with the ordeal of temptation. Too often we think of temptation as some kind of special attack of a particular instinct or passion that has become distorted, or a subtle suggestion arising from some recognisably evil set of circumstances. The result is that the word 'sin' has become narrowed down to some particular thought, motive, or action which the average person associates with what is generally acknowledged to be flagrantly immoral. Hence, people generally think of temptation in relation to things like sex or strong drink or temper or stealing.

True as that is, however, the ordeal of temptation lies for most people and for the most part, not so much in these spheres as in the ordinary range of daily life, in our contacts and in the difficulties that befall us. 'Afflictions, necessities, distresses,' that is, circumstances that frustrated Paul's ministry and which hamper our efforts to live the Christian life: 'stripes, imprisonments, tumults,' that is, hardships and reverses imposed by opponents: 'labours, watchings, fastings,' that is, as it has been put, 'wearing toil, sleepless nights, hungry days'—not an uncommon experience of many in these days of austerity and in times of illness. Surely it is in undergoing such adversities that the sharpest ordeal of temptation is to be found. Is it not in such hard experiences that we find it most difficult to believe in a good and loving God, to believe that righteousness and purity and truth and mercy are supreme and will in the end triumph? These are the experiences that most often crush the soul and make a man doubt whether Christian living and the moral struggle and even life itself are worth while. And surely it is a fiery ordeal indeed to have one's motives distorted and to be subjected to every form of obloquy and misrepresentation, to have, as Paul had, dishonour and evil report heaped on one, to suffer ill-health, to be called deceitful and to be passed over as of no consequence, to have one's costly work unrecognized.

It is within the sphere of such happenings that the average earnest Christian, be he minister or layman, feels the temptation to become disheartened and depressed, to grow bitter, to

abandon enthusiasm and sink into a sceptical humdrum performance of one's minimum duty, to give way to that peculiar sin of accidie, sluggish indifference, and apathy. Are not these the more insidious and perilous temptations that beset us to-day? These are the most malignant of all cancers that eat at the vitals of Christian faith and conduct. Take this from the saintly David Brainerd—'My spiritual conflicts to-day were unspeakably dreadful, heavier than the mountains and over-flowing floods . . . I was deprived of all sense of God, even of the being of a God: and that was my misery. . . . This was distress, the nearest akin to the damned's torments that I ever endured. . . . I was almost swallowed up of anguish, when I saw people gather to hear me preach.' Think of a minister or a missionary going into his pulpit to preach with a cloud like that hanging over him! Yet, if the truth were told, does not many an earnest minister know something of that experience at first-hand and has not many a devout church member come to the Holy Communion under that same cloud? To know that heavy-footed temptation is nevertheless to be in the true Apostolic succession. 'O wretched man that I am!,' cries Paul in his greatest Epistle, 'who shall deliver me from the body of this death?'

But, note, it is temptation—not sin. 'Think it not strange, brethren, concerning the fiery trial that is to try you.' And it may be that in the end of the day the best thing about many of us will not be the great achievements that lie to our credit in Christian service before the eyes of men but the way we have stood the fiery ordeal of temptation. It is what men and women have seen of us then, when things were against us, when they beheld us troubled on every side, yet not distressed, perplexed but not in despair, persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed—it is therein that our true apostleship may well lie.

Have you ever thought of *the significance of your temptations to others*, and not simply to yourself? That is the Pauline way and it kept Paul from being morose and depressed, as we so easily become about temptation. What might well have proved to him a fire of destruction became one of the glowing parts of his ministry, for his very detractors and all who met him could not fail to see in this battered, stoned, shipwrecked, often sick man the force of his triumphant cry, 'as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.' That is why he could write to the Christian folk at Philippi: 'I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; . . . and many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear.'

That slow ordeal of temptation which lasted all his days made Paul the man he was. That was, we may say, the furnace in which his Lord was moulding his character and fashioning this greatest of all apostles. Aye, and his theology, we should never forget, was fashioned in these very same fires. His 'thorn in the flesh' remained—a sore temptation to despair—that thereby he might the better know the sufficiency of grace.

> Sweet are the uses of adversity,
> Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
> Wears yet a precious jewel in his head.

What was true for Paul is meant to be also true for us, for we are strange poor creatures if we know not this ordeal of temptation that often seems to leap like a flame out of the circumstances and experiences of life. 'Whatever other passing uses this present world, so full of trial and temptation and suffering, may have, this surely,' writes Dr. Alexander Whyte, 'is the supreme and final use of it—to be a furnace, a graving-house, a refining place for human character. Literally all things in this life and in this world—I challenge you to point out a single exception—work together for this supreme and only good, the purification, the refining, the testing, and the approval of human character. Not only so, but we are all in the very heat of the furnace, and under the very graving iron and in the very refining fire that our prefigured and predestinated character needs. Your life and its trials would not suit the necessities of my moral character, and you would lose your soul beyond redemption if you exchanged lots with me.'

If you will go back and read carefully the previous chapter you will see the strong double foundation that enabled Paul and will enable us to face the ordeal of temptation in this spirit. He tells us of two great assurances: one is the certainty of the glorious life that lies beyond earth's battle and the other is the fact of the great reconciliation that has been effected in Christ. Grounded in these two basic truths you can face the ordeal of temptation and be the better for it. 'How many saints has adversity sent to heaven,' writes William Law in a memorable passage. 'And how many poor sinners has prosperity plunged into everlasting misery! This man had never been debauched but for his fortune and advancement; that had never been pious, but through his poverty and disgrace. . . . One man succeeds in everything and so loses all; another meets with nothing but crosses and disappointments and thereby gains more than all the world is worth.'

SECOND SUNDAY IN LENT.

The Guerdon of Faith.

BY THE REVEREND JOHN L. KENT, M.A., GLASGOW.

'There is no man that hath left . . . for my sake, and for the gospel's sake, but he shall receive a hundredfold.'—Mk $10^{29f.}$ (R.V.).

And so faith pays! It is an investment that procures the highest dividends, an enterprise that earns the richest rewards. We can set it down on

Jesus' authority that, if we believe in Him and for His sake surrender our most precious possessions, we will receive the fullest recompense. A hundredfold.

This is a strong word to come from the lips of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is very difficult to accept. In the ordinary course of human experience faith does not prove to be as profitable as Jesus suggests. On the contrary, it often appears mean and niggardly in its returns. It demands very much and pays very little; it calls for valiant sacrifice but bestows few laurels or crowns. In spite of our brave declarations that honesty is the best policy and that the man of God comes off best in the long run, we do not find life substantiating our slogans.

So precarious is the recompense of faith that most of us have been forced to an austere conclusion. We have discounted the rewards of faith altogether. We have evolved the theory that sincere men do not believe in religion for what it is worth. It is its truth that matters and commands our loyalty. 'Trust in God,' we cry, 'not for what He can give you but just for His own sake. Fight for Him and never heed the wounds; labour and ask for no reward. Good men do not expect religion to pay.'

In stark contradiction to our heroic conclusions stands this emphatic pronouncement of Jesus. What are we to make of it? Obviously it demands some explanation.

Let us look at what He says. In these words He lays bare three principles that run through the whole of life. 'For my sake, and the gospel's,' He says. Everyman, He suggests, has some objective to the attainment of which he dedicates his powers. Life presents to us a multitude of ends from among which we must make our selection. This is not a matter of choice but of compulsion. We are forced to choose values and aims and commit ourselves to them. They seem to us supremely worth while and in realizing them our truest well-being depends. This is the principle of discrimination. 'No man hath left, . . .' He says. In other words, He further suggests, no sooner have we made our choice than we are forced to exclude certain things from our pursuit and enjoyment. Having pledged ourselves to the achievement of one end, we are obliged to renounce all others. If we have said 'Yes' to what we believe to be of paramount importance, we are compelled to say 'No' to the rest. This is the principle of renunciation. 'He shall receive a hundredfold,' says Jesus. For, He implies, the objectives that have been discerned and have been pursued with selfless devotion shall be attained. That is Jesus' judgment about the nature of this world. What we spiritually perceive and seek with an all-exclusive determination we shall most assuredly achieve. This is the principle of realization.

So what about our theory of rewards? Of course Jesus is not referring to our crude and material ideas. He is not saying that the man who believes in Him will snatch the prizes out of the hands of gross and worldly men. He is declaring that the man who rules his life by these principles of discrimination and renunciation, choosing Him and His gospel and surrendering all for His sake, shall find that the principle of realization will operate. That is the way life works. By God's decree, he shall receive a hundredfold. His faith will be realized. It will be rewarded.

Proclaim it to the world. It is in desperate need of such a message at an hour like this. It tends to be dominated at the present time by cynical, sneering men who laugh at our spiritual values and treat us who believe in them as children still bewitched by the world of make-believe. They prefer the dismal doctrine that Christian hopes are unattainable and say with Krutch, 'Ours is a lost cause and there is no place for us in the natural universe.' It is slipping back into primeval barbarism because there are too many men in prominent places who, to use the words in which Mark Twain described them long ago, 'scoff at the pitiful world, the useless universe, the violent, contemptible human race and the whole paltry scheme.' Let us stand before them unashamedly and, with no apology on our lips, say: 'The world of human affairs rests on one foundation and on one foundation alone—faith in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Build on any other and you are courting irreparable disaster.' This is the faith that must be accepted by the world and pursued with intense devotion if the rewards for which men so desperately strive are to be won. All other doctrines must prove false, all other religions are unavailing. It is that kind of a world where only Christ and His gospel, loved and trusted with absolute surrender, can bring complete fulfilment—a hundredfold.

Tell it to your brethren. For they are living amid shattered hopes and depressing disillusionment. They have striven nobly and suffered greatly and now stand dumb, puzzled and tormented before a world that has gone mad in a drunken brawl. A friend once wrote to Turgenev: 'It seems to me that to put oneself in the second place is the whole significance of life.' To which Turgenev replied: 'It seems to me to discover what to put before oneself, in the first place, is the whole problem of life.' That is the plight of our brothers at this moment. They do not know what to put in the first place. They have tried other things there—patriotism, and it has not worked; democracy, and it has mocked at them; humanism, and it has defrauded them. Tell them to put Jesus there. He is the only One who makes selfless devotion profitable. To discern in Him the true ends of life and to subject oneself entirely to Him is the only guarantee we have of realizing those ends our brethren so deeply desire—a hundredfold.

Take it to yourself. For most of us have begun to doubt whether Christianity was really meant to work in this world. The fierce, inescapable facts of this tragic world have shaken our confidence. The ugly truths we have had to face about our fellow men, their lack of principle, their indifference to the urgent needs of our own country,

their blatant dishonesty, their ignoble surrender to graft, have shocked us. The sober searching of our own hearts has startled us. All of us who have done any serious thinking have been terror-stricken before the subtlety, malignity, and ubiquity of evil—in others and in ourselves. Old doctrines that we thought were long since dead have looked like rising from the graves in which we have buried them—such as the total depravity of man. And after all these centuries of Christian teaching and Christian living!

It is good for us to confront these facts about ourselves. They constitute the supreme test of our faith. Listen to what the psychologist, Jung, has to say: 'Man has never yet been able single-handed to hold his own against the powers of darkness. . . . Man has always stood in need of the spiritual help which each individual's own religion held out to him. . . . It is this which lifts him out of his distress.' In answer to the grim challenge of these facts comes the ringing, rousing certainty of the voice of Jesus. 'A hundredfold.' The drunkard made sober, the thief made honest; the mean made generous; the self-centred made self-giving; the slave made free; the care-ridden given rest: these, and a thousand more, are the trophies of the faith.

It is time we tried it out anew for ourselves. 'His power can make the foulest clean.' Discriminate! Renounce! And realize! A hundredfold.

THIRD SUNDAY IN LENT.

Life's Crossings.[1]

BY THE REVEREND T. TUDOR RHYS, B.A., B.D., HINCKLEY.

'He [Jacob] passed over the river.'—Gn 31^{21}.

We, too, have made such a crossing. Not so long ago we were on the outer side of 1948, now we are on the inner side. We have crossed over from one year to another. And life is full of such crossings. There are the more frequent crossings from one day to another, from one mood to another, from one decision to another. There are the more gradual crossings from youth to middle age and from middle age to maturity. Then there is the crossing from time to eternity.

Of course, there are ways of looking at life which make these crossings irrelevant. There is the view that life is a kind of Escalator. Cheer up, there's a Law of Progress according to which things are getting better and better and everything will come right in the end. Then there is the view that life is a sort of Merry-go-round. Don't worry, there's a Law of Recurrence according to which things go round and round and everything comes to the same thing in the end.

But that is not the Bible view of life. The Bible view is that life is a series of crossings. We live our life, for better or for worse, not by drifting but by deciding, not by coasting but by crossing. Jacob passed over the river, and so must we, again and again.

[1] Broadcast on Sunday, 18th January 1948.

This particular crossing that Jacob made, and the circumstances in which he did it, illustrate three of the ways in which we make our life's crossings, you and I. There is the crossing over from (1) where I am—to where I *used* to be; (2) where I am—to where I *want* to be; (3) where I am—to where I *ought* to be.

1. *The Crossing over to where we used to be.* Don't you wish sometimes that you could make that crossing, that you could cross over from where you are and go back to where you used to be? You need not be ashamed to admit it if you ever feel like that. There was Henry Vaughan, for instance:

> O how I long to travell back,
> And tread again that ancient track!
> That I might once more reach that plaine,
> Where first I left my glorious traine;
> From whence th' inlightened spirit sees
> That shady City of Palme trees.

The time came when Jacob, too, was filled with a longing to cross over from where he was and go back to where he used to be. For twenty years he had lived in a foreign country. Love had come to him and happiness, but trouble had come, too. That was a sordid story. No wonder, after so many years, that there came over him a great longing 'for to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan.' So Jacob 'rose up and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mount Gilead.' What a thrilling moment that must have been, that first, far-off glimpse of the hills of home!

Psychologists will tell you, however, that there is a seamy side to all this and they will talk to you about 'regression' and 'escapism' and much else. But there is here something far deeper than that. There is here the homing instinct of the human soul. There is here the long pull of the native land. There is here the longing to cross over on to home ground. Augustine knew this home-sickness of the soul: 'Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless until they find their rest in Thee.' And Wordsworth knew it:

> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home.

And the Prodigal Son knew it. 'I will arise and go to my father,' 'And Jacob rose up, and passed over the river, and set his face toward the mount Gilead'—the beckoning hills of home.

'Life is a bridge; pass over it, do not build on it.' Man is ear-marked for immortality and we go where we came from—to God. That is, unless something has gone wrong, and we have lost our way. But, even so, the crossing can be made here and now from where you are to where you belong. It can be made by a simple act of faith. Faith is what makes miracles possible—the miracle that Christ works when He rescues a man from the tyranny of time and gives him the freedom of the eternal world.

2. *The Crossing over to what we want to be*—

from where dreams are dreamed to where dreams come true. Does a man ever get what he wants? Yes, always, if he wants it badly enough to be willing to pay the price. For instance, I want a thousand pounds. So did the other fellow. He got his, but I have not had mine yet. Why the difference? Just this: the other man got caught, but I said to myself, No, not at that price! Wanting the end includes willing the means. We are told in this chapter that crossing the river Euphrates on that occasion was difficult and dangerous, but Jacob took it all in his stride. Why? Because his heart was on the other side. It is the heart that carries the feet, says the Talmud.

There are always two reasons. There is the reason you give, and there is the real reason. The reason you give is that you have not got the time or the talent. But the real reason why you have left that task undone is that you don't really want to do it. It isn't cleverness that counts half of our time, or will-power either, it is keenness. Where there's a want there's a will. 'Thought picks the lock; it is passion that bursts the door.'

Jesus' question, therefore, is not: Do you understand Me? or What is your opinion of Me? or Can you argue about Me? It is: Do you love Me? 'If ye love me, ye will keep my commandments,' He says. There are crossings in life so difficult, so dangerous, so irksome, that not all your wisdom, wit, or will can make you take them, only love. Jacob knew that as well as any one. He once did a thing which has seldom been surpassed. He signed on for seven years under a close and cunning employer—for no wages at all! And he kept his contract. Why, you couldn't begin to negotiate on the basis of such terms as those to-day. And Jacob was no fool, that hard-headed business man. What was his secret? Just this: 'And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to her.' It is the heart that carries the feet, and clears the brain, and nerves the will. It is love that makes miracles practicable.

And you? You may be trembling on the verge of the miraculous. Don't you hear the living Christ asking you: Do you love Me?

3. *The Crossing over to what we ought to be.* We are also told that Jacob made that crossing because it was his duty. He made it in response to a Divine command. 'And the Lord said unto Jacob, Return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred.' Yes, he was crossing from where he was to where he ought to be. And, by all accounts, that was a terribly difficult thing to do.

'Ought implies can,' said Immanuel Kant. It does—when God says it. Listen: 'And the Lord said unto Jacob, Return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred—*and I will be with thee.*' If you are sure that a thing is your human duty, then you can be sure of Divine help. And that is because you can always count on the Divine Helper. Jesus once said: 'I am the Truth.' And He said: 'I am the Life.' But He was also careful to say: 'I am the Way,' and to put that first. And that is what His Father and ours said to Jacob so long ago, and says to you and me: 'Return—and I will go with thee.' It is the presence of God in Christ that makes the miracle personal. That has been the experience of God's children in every age: 'The Lord is my strength and song.'

So let this be the word of God for you, whether you need it in the seclusion of your own mind, or in the intimacy of your own home, or as you face the unknown ways of the new year: Go Godward—and you will find a road!

FOURTH SUNDAY IN LENT.

Bargaining Religion.

BY THE REVEREND CANON T. GUY ROGERS, M.C., B.D., BIRMINGHAM.

'If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace; then shall the Lord be my God.'—Gn $28^{20f.}$.

The story that lies behind this suggestion of a bargain with God is one of the most famous stories in the Old Testament.

The young man Jacob who had lied to his father and cheated his brother is compelled to leave home in a hurry to escape from the probable consequences of his bad conduct. He starts out on the long journey which is to take him to Haran in 'the land of the people of the East.' One night he finds himself sleeping in the open beneath the stars. With a stone for his pillow he goes to sleep and dreams of a ladder set up from earth to heaven, of the voice of God calling to him, speaking words of encouragement, promising him honour instead of dishonour, success instead of failure, and all the blessings for himself and for his descendants which he might seem to have forfeited by his disgrace.

Modern psychology busies itself happily with this dream. It claims that it is of a well-known compensatory kind where the dreamer compensates himself grandiosely for the mistakes he has himself made or the ills which fortune has inflicted on him. How comforting for the wanderer and the fugitive to find God taking such an interest in him and promising him such great things. Here lies a fascinating study. The Christian student can recognize this psychological element without in the least denying the possibility of an approach from God through the unconscious. The test is to be found in the results in life and character and history.

What we are concerned with, however, is Jacob's immediate reaction to his dream. It was thoroughly consistent with his character as yet unaffected by those deeper experiences of genuine spiritual religion which subsequent life brought home to him. We are here dealing with the Jacob of the Dream, not the Jacob who met God long after in the mysterious experience of Peniel, who in spiritual wrestling with the unknown found a blessing which endured.

What was this reaction? It may be summed up by stating that he resolved to capitalize the experience of the dream and to conclude a satisfactory bargain with God. 'If God will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, then shall the Lord be my God.' Jacob, in fact, becomes the first outstanding example of those who standardize religion at a certain level and propose to live accordingly. If God will give them a reasonable deal they in their turn will deal reasonably with God. If God will protect them against misfortune, if God will give them a modest competence, if God will make them successful, then God shall be their God and their dues will be paid and their obligation fulfilled.

This kind of religion, though it is not formulated as bargaining religion is very common and often leads to disastrous results. It is the sad experience of ministers of religion to meet many whose religion has broken down because it has been, perhaps almost unconsciously, lived on this level. We meet those who say they have lost their faith because their prayers for the safety of some loved ones have not been answered, or because of some disappointment, or social injustice, or illness, or economic loss which has befallen themselves. There is a corroding sense that they have really tried to serve God and that God has let them down. Their religion has not been adequate to the strain. They feel that an implicit bargain has not been honoured. This is too often the penalty of imitating Jacob.

Now let us look at a very different character who also figures in the Old Testament, who raised his religion above danger point, deliberately cutting out the bargaining element. We only know of him through the book that he wrote, the book of the prophet Habakkuk. But that tells us a great deal about his faith and his religion.

He lived at a time when such a religion as Jacob's was of no use to any believer. The invader had ravaged the land in which he lived. Fire and sword were continual instruments of destruction. There was no security. In addition the internal economy of the nation was in complete confusion and the life of the people corrupt. It was a time of political disaster and moral eclipse. A cry of anguish rings through the book. 'O Lord, how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear! . . . spoiling and violence are before me: . . . the law is slacked, and judgment doth never go forth.' For the man Habakkuk, who was getting no material benefit from his faith in God, it was a case of all or nothing—trusting fully or not at all. He broods painfully over the situation, trying to reconcile his faith in the goodness of God with the hard and cruel facts of the world in which he lives. He does not readily give up his faith beneath the blows of circumstances. Still steadily seeking for light in the darkness he ascends his watch-tower—'I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will watch to see what he will say unto me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved.' There in communion with God and his own soul he finds the only answer that can be given. The man who believes in ultimate goodness must, through many periods of his life and the history of his people, live by faith. There are no proportionate and individual rewards. The man who would be righteous and keep fellowship with a righteous God must live not on a bargaining but on a sacrificial level of religion. 'The just man shall live by his faith.'

It is out of this conflict and this discovery that the prophet rises to that superb expression of triumphant faith which marks the close of his book—'Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; . . . Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation.'

Here is the real thing, the genuine and adoring spirit, the faith that has been tried by fire, the pure ore of religion freed from the surrounding dross.

Somewhere between these two levels, that of Jacob and that of Habakkuk, our own religion seems to oscillate. We are not so gross in our thought of God as Jacob was, nor have we achieved such spiritual élan as Habakkuk. But there can be no doubt in our minds as to the direction in which our own religion should be moving. More and more should we seek to worship God for what He is, in His holiness and righteousness and love, even though now as regards ourselves we can often only see through a glass darkly. That surely, too, is the message of the Cross. There was no element of material bargaining in the way that Jesus took. Though it led Him to Gethsemane and Calvary He could still rejoice in the God of His salvation.

It is our business to save our young people from the disillusionment which is bound to follow from the practice of a religion which expects quick or pleasant returns. Better to teach them to aim high and to reject favouritism for themselves. The story of the Cross is the supreme educator. It is the only Christian answer we can give to so much that is baffling, painful, and tragic in human life. Few of us can claim to have got very far along the road which Habakkuk travelled so triumphantly. Would we dare to say in relation to the age in which we live and our own better experience: 'Although no coal should come from the pits, though the blast furnaces should be extinguished, and no ships be built in the yards, yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation?' Yet there lies the ultimate test of indestructible religion.

The Joseph Saga.

By the Reverend E. W. Heaton, M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

In the final volume of the Clarendon Old Testament recently published, Professor Hooke frequently notes the striking difference between the story of Joseph and the rest of the patriarchal sagas and records the view that the former received its present form after the latter. The purpose of this article is to indicate evidence which may help us identify a little more precisely the religious and literary context of at least one strand in the Joseph saga. The material may be summarized briefly under the following heads :

1. *The Spirit and Wisdom.* In Gn 41[38], the presence with Joseph of the spirit of God is a conclusion drawn, not from his 'administrative capacity,'[1] but from his wisdom and discernment (*v.*[39]). This association of wisdom and understanding with the spirit occurs elsewhere only in post-Exilic passages[2] as part of a religious outlook to which, it is suggested, Gn 41[38] properly belongs.

2. *Dreams and their Interpretation.* Joseph's wisdom is manifested in his interpretation of Pharaoh's dream. In the other dreams recorded by the Elohist, either God is represented as speaking directly to the sleeper,[3] or the meaning is apparent without interpretation.[4] The sophisticated view of Joseph on the necessity of Divine interpretation (41[16] 40[8]) is quite different, and nearer the religious outlook of Ezekiel (40[3f.]) and Zechariah (chs. 1–6), where a mediated interpretation has replaced direct communication. With the exception of Jg 7[15], dreams as an alleged means of revelation do not occur again in the Old Testament until the sixth century[5]; 'wise-men' (חֲכָמִים) and magicians (חַרְטֻמִּים) are not mentioned again until an even later period.[6] The failure of these professional interpreters in the Joseph saga (40[8] 41[8]), their defeat in the late (P) narrative of the plagues (Ex 7[11f. 22] 8[7. 18f.] 9[11]), and their denigration in the tirade against Egypt in Isaiah (19[11f.]), all appear to belong to a common (prophetic) judgment of their worth which emerged during the Exilic struggle against foreign cults.[7] It is well illustrated by passages of biting sarcasm in Deutero-Isaiah (*e.g.*, 44[25] 47[12f.]).

3. *The Foreknowledge of Yahweh.* In Gn 41[25. 28. 32], the conception of Yahweh's foreknowledge is fully explicit. Such a belief may be said to underlie pre-Exilic prophecy rather than to find expression in it (Am 3[7] is exceptional and of doubtful authorship), so that it is not until Deutero-Isaiah's contrast between the ignorance of the Babylonian idols and the knowledge of Yahweh that we have so clear a formulation as that given in the Joseph story.[8] Can we allow that this remarkable 'anticipation' of the circumstances and didactic interest of the Exilic period is simply a coincidence ?

4. *The Divine Providence.* Professor Hooke has observed in the Joseph saga a belief in a 'remote overruling Providence' and commented : 'This conception . . . is a mark of a late stage in Hebrew religious thought.'[9] In addition to Gn 50[20] which he quotes in this connexion, there is another even more interesting passage in 45[5f.]: 'For God did send me before you to preserve life (לְמִחְיָה) . . . and God sent me before you to preserve you a remnant (שְׁאֵרִית) in the earth and to save you alive by a great deliverance (לִפְלֵיטָה גְּדֹלָה).' The interpretation of 'remnant' (שְׁאֵרִית) as meaning 'descendants' (so Driver and—with less confidence—Skinner) has little support[10] and its association here with 'escaping' (פְּלֵיטָה) identifies it with prophetic usage.[11] The suspicion that we have here an interpolation no

[1] C. A. Briggs, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xix. 137.

[2] Is 11[2], Ex 31[3] 35[31], Nu 27[18], Dt 34[9] (P) ; cf. T. Rees, 'The Holy Spirit as Wisdom' in *Mansfield College Essays*, 292 f., and E. de W. Burton, *Spirit, Soul and Flesh* (Chicago, 1918), p. 57.

[3] Abimelech (Gn 20), Jacob (31[10f.]), Laban (31[24f.]).

[4] Jacob (28[12. 17]), Joseph (37[5f.]) ; cf. J. Skinner, *Genesis*[2] (*I.C.C.*), pp. 445 and lii.

[5] Cf. Jer 23[25f.] 27[9] 29[8], Dt 13[2f.].

[6] חֲכָמִים (wise-men) occurs in Gn 41[8], Ex 7[11] (P), Is 19[11f.] 44[25], Jer 50[35] 51[57], Est 1[13] 6[13]. חַרְטֻמִּים (magicians) occurs only in Gn 41[8. 24], the P source of Exodus and in Daniel.

[7] Cf. G. B. Gray's comment on Is 19[12] : 'From the point of view of late Jewish thought the fear of Yahweh is the beginning of all wisdom ; those who fear Him, alone know His plans' (*I.C.C.*, 329).

[8] Cf. Is 41[23] 42[9] 44[6f.] 46[10] 48[3. 5. 6] and Skinner's comment in *Camb. Bible*, p. liii.

[9] *In the Beginning*, p. 114.

[10] The only passages adduced (2 S 14[7], Jer 44[7], Is 14[22]) are of doubtful date and interpretation.

[11] Cf. A. C. Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism*, 61 f. The use of שְׁאֵרִית in Gn 45[7] is significant not only because it is unique in the Hexateuch and unsupported in the story of Joseph by the slightest suggestion of Divine punishment, but also because the semi-technical meaning of a Divinely-preserved remnant which the immediate context demands is unknown in the pre-Exilic literature. The occurrence of שְׁאֵרִית in this sense in Am 5[15], Mic 2[12], Zeph 2[7. 9] 3[13], Is 37[32] and Jer 23[3] 31[7] has in each case to be discounted as pre-Exilic evidence on independent grounds.

earlier than the Exile is confirmed by the occurrence in the same passage of the rare and late word translated 'preservation of life' (מִחְיָה),[1] on which Ezr 9[8f.] provides the most illuminating commentary: 'And now for a little moment grace hath been shewed from the Lord our God, to leave us a remnant to escape (לְהַשְׁאִיר לָנוּ פְּלֵיטָה), and to give us a nail in his holy place, that our God may lighten our eyes, and give us a little reviving (מִחְיָה) in our bondage. For we are bondmen; yet our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving (מִחְיָה).' Between this passage and Gn 45[5f.] there is a remarkable similarity in vocabulary, historical situation and religious outlook. That this common attitude was characteristic of the 'Exilic' writers may be judged from such a passage as Ezr 9[15]: 'O Lord, the God of Israel, thou art righteous; for we are left a remnant that is escaped (כִּי־נִשְׁאַרְנוּ פְלֵיטָה), as it is this day.' Here in the religion of post-exilic Judaism, as in the Deuteronomic redaction of the historical books, the prophets' hard-won faith in Yahweh's providence has been received as a generalized dogma. The response of Gentile potentates to providential guidance in their dealings with the Jews is constantly emphasized. Alongside the Persian kings' edicts in Ezra[2] and a number of passages from the Chronicler,[3] Gn 41[37f.] suggests a view of providence which is strikingly similar.

5. *The Jew among Gentiles.* The close connexion between the first two chapters of Daniel and the Joseph saga has long been recognized. Thus Driver wrote: 'The narrative [of Daniel] seems to a certain extent to be modelled on that of Joseph in Gn 41, there being parallels in both idea and expression. In both narratives a heathen monarch is troubled by a dream which he cannot understand; in both he sends for his own wise men, who fail to remove his perplexity; in both a young Jewish captive, relying on the help of his God, is successful and is rewarded by the king with high honours, and a lifelong position of influence in his kingdom.'[4] Now it is instructive to observe that the passages of Daniel which Driver referred to the Joseph story are the very passages to which Rendel Harris appealed in support of his theory that Daniel borrowed from a version of the Ahikar legend.[5] We may in consequence be provoked to speculate on the relationship between the Ahikar legend and the Joseph story, but it is extremely doubtful whether any well-grounded conclusions are possible by the very nature of the case. While it is always open to us to postulate the influence from a very early date of a popular folk motif, the fact remains that evidence of such an influence on the Biblical tradition is uncertain until about the period of the Exile. This evidence includes certain features of the narratives of Gn 12[10f.] 20 and 26,[6] and echoes of the same motif in the editorial account of the last days of Jeremiah,[7] in the miniature legend of 2 K 25[27-30],[8] and in the late romances—Tobit, 1 Esdras and Esther.[9] It is not possible to *prove* that the Joseph saga is contemporary with this type of popular application of a stock theme by Exilic and post-Exilic writers, but such a hypothesis would help explain the religious outlook already noted, some peculiar features of the vocabulary employed in the saga,[10] and the reasons which led the author of the narratives in Daniel to borrow for his *Exilic* story material

[1] It occurs eight times in the Old Testament: twice in Lev 13 of a 'raw' spot on the flesh of a leper; twice in Judges (6[4] 17[10]); twice in Ezr 9 (see above) and in 2 Ch 14[12]. Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judges* (*I.C.C.*), 180.

[2] Cf. C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 140 f., 150 f.

[3] 2 Ch 2[11] 9[7] 12[2] 21[16] 35[20f.].

[4] *Daniel* (*Camb. Bible*), 17. The striking general resemblance between Daniel and the Joseph narrative becomes specific in the following points: (*a*) Skill in interpretation disclaimed and ascribed to God alone: Dn 2[21. 30], Gn 40[8] 41[16]; (*b*) Yahweh's foreknowledge: Dn 2[28. 45], Gn 41[28] 45[8]; (*c*) Pagan recognition of Yahweh: Dn 2[47], Gn 41[38]; (*d*) Divinely-inspired wisdom: Dn 4[8f.] 5[12. 14]; Gn 41[33]; (*e*) Elevation and investiture of the hero: Dn 2[48] 5[7], Gn 41[41f.]; (*f*) Features of vocabulary: *e.g.* 'sad' (זְעֻפִים) Dn 1[10], Gn 40[6]; 'fatfleshed' (בְּרִיאַת בָּשָׂר) Dn 1[15], Gn 41[2. 18]; 'agitated' (פָּעַם) Dn 2[1], Gn 41[8]; 'victual' (מָזוֹן) Dn 4[12. 21], Gn 45[23] (elsewhere only 2 Ch 11[23]).

[5] *The Story of Ahikar* [2], p. lx f.

[6] There has been great divergence of opinion concerning the literary relationship of these three versions of a common story. It is reasonably clear, however, that they are all concerned with (*a*) the friendliness of a Gentile monarch; (*b*) the necessity of avoiding intermarriage; (*c*) the success of the Jewish hero. These are themes which the conditions of the Diaspora and Exile brought to the fore and they are given particular prominence in the versions of chs. 12 and 20. It is these two which bear the most obvious marks of late composition—the former in its echoes of the Joseph story and the latter in its post-prophetic religious standpoint.

[7] In ch. 37 f., Jeremiah's imprisonment, his adventure in the pit, and his privileged position first with Zedekiah and then with the pious Nebuzaradan (see especially 40[2f.] and cf. Gn 20[13]) are suggestive.

[8] The King of Babylon released Jehoiachin from prison, changed his garments, gave him an 'allowance,' and promoted him second in the kingdom (cf. Gn 41 and Jer 40).

[9] For their general theme, see L. B. Paton, *Esther* (*I.C.C.*), 75 f. The fortunes of Achiacharus, Zerubbabel, Mordecai, Daniel, Ahikar and Joseph have obvious points in common—particularly their promotion and investiture: cf. Gn 41[38f.], Est 3[10] 6[9] 8[2] 10[3], Tob 1[22f.], 1 Es 3[6. 7]; also Gn 45[7] 50[20], Est 4[14].

[10] *E.g.* זְעֻפִים (40[6]), פֶּתֶר (40[8]), יָם (40[12]), הִתִּי (40[16]), דֹּק (41[3]), פִּקָּדוֹן (41[36]), לְקֹץ (41[47]).

from a saga of the *Sojourn* [1] which curiously failed to impress any but very late writers.[2]

[1] For the tradition of the Sojourn in Egypt and its reflection of the experience of the Exilic period, see the present writer's article 'Sojourners in Egypt,' in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, lviii. (December 1946), especially p. 82 with notes 3 and 6.

[2] The only references to the story of Joseph as an individual occur in Ps $105^{17f.}$ (late), Wis $10^{13f.}$, 1 Macc 2^{53} and Sir 49^{15}. The context of this last reference is no less curious than the omission of Joseph in the historical retrospect of Sir 44 f.; cf. W. O. E. Oesterley, *Ecclesiasticus* (*Camb. Bible*), *ad loc.*

The tentative conclusion to which we are therefore led is that the writer responsible for that portion of the Joseph saga customarily attributed to the Elohist (in which most of the significant evidence occurs) embodied in the Jahvist's story elements drawn from a cycle of romances which gathered round Jewish heroes of the Diaspora during the sixth century and after.[3]

[3] For the popularity of such stories at this period, cf. Erbt, *Die Purimsage*, p. 45 f. and *Ency. Bib.*, col. 5112.

Contributions and Comments.

The Idea of Impassibility in the New Testament.

Is it possible to find in the New Testament that conception of the impassibility of God which was so characteristic of Greek philosophy and figured so largely in Christian theology down to recent times? The thesis of this article is that it is possible, and that Christian theology is intelligible only on the basis of such a conception.

The evidence will be collected under four heads: (*a*) the use of the term 'blessed' (*μακάριος*) as applied to God; (*b*) the passages which insist upon the painlessness of heaven; (*c*) the conception of God's immutability; (*d*) the conception of God's perfection.

(*a*) There are two Greek words which are translated by 'blessed' in the New Testament: *εὐλογητός*, 'well spoken of,' and *μακάριος* 'happy.' Only the latter is strictly relevant to our subject, and this is used in reference to God twice, in 1 Ti 1^{11}: 'the gospel of the blessed God,' and in 1 Ti 6^{15}: 'the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see.' The two uses of this word in the same Epistle may not, especially in view of the disputed Pauline authorship, appear to constitute very weighty evidence for Christian doctrine as a whole. Nevertheless they seem to indicate a view of God in the Church which was in line with the Greek conception of God's impassibility. The second passage, linking 'blessedness' with 'immortality' (*ἀθανασία*) and the transcendence of God, is especially suggestive of affinity with Greek thought.

μακάριος is, of course, the word used in the Beatitudes, and, at first sight, it may seem there to be not incompatible with the experience of suffering. But the term 'blessed' in 'blessed are they that mourn' is proleptic, referring not to the state of mourning, but to the promised comfort. Similarly the term 'blessed' in 'blessed are they which are persecuted' looks forward to 'Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven.' It is not unreasonable, therefore, to interpret *μακάριος* when applied to God, as implying the non-suffering nature of God.

(*b*) Stronger evidence is afforded by the passages which emphasize the 'painlessness' of heaven. In the description of the blessed ones in heaven in Rev 7^{17}, the words 'God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes' undoubtedly suggest the truth that in heaven there is no suffering. In Rev 21^{4}, it is explicitly stated that in the heavenly City 'God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain.' If there is no suffering in heaven, then there can be no suffering in the heart of the God of heaven.

(*c*) The 'immutability of God' is forcibly proclaimed in Ja 1^{17}: 'Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.' Plato himself could not have stated God's changelessness more clearly; and the fact that God cannot change implies that He cannot suffer, since suffering involves change in the sufferer. Ignatius drew the inference that God is impassible, and that the Son of God became passible for the first time in the Incarnation. In this doctrine he was followed by the vast majority of the great theologians down to recent times.

(*d*) That God is perfect is an axiom of the New Testament; but suffering, whatever it may be in its accompaniments, uses, and results, is *in se* an evil, and no evil of any kind can be inherent in One who is perfect in every respect. Jesus clearly regarded suffering as an evil, since He sought to abolish it wherever He found it. Sympathy may be regarded as good; but that which is good in sympathy is not the element of sorrow in it, but the love and benevolence. In seeking to remove suffering, Jesus was indirectly seeking to remove occasions for sympathy in the sense of suffering with or for sufferers. That the New Testament clearly recognizes that pain is an evil is shown by the insistence that the souls made perfect in

heaven have no sorrow or pain. Since God is perfect and suffering *in se* is evil, God in His infinite nature does not suffer.

To all this it is often objected that the Cross of Christ proves that God suffers. It is asked, What does the Cross reveal if it does not reveal suffering in the heart of God? Has not Jesus said, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father'? The answer to this argument is that it proves too much. If the Cross proves that God suffers, it also proves that God died. Now it is quite certain that the New Testament teaches that God is immortal, *i.e.*, that God cannot die. God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, but God *qua* God cannot die. In His voluntary self-humiliation in the Incarnation the Son of God became subject to death, although *qua* God He is immortal. In the same way He became subject to suffering, although *qua* God He is impassible. The Cross reveals the perfect saving Love in the heart of the Father, but that Love is consistent with God's impassibility.

We fail to realize the full extent of Christ's self-sacrifice for us unless we understand that He who had never experienced suffering voluntarily humbled Himself and in His Incarnation became subject to suffering and to death for us and our salvation. Even then the Divine impassibility shines through. In the darkest, bitterest hour, Jesus could say, 'My peace I give unto you'; 'I lay down my life for the sheep . . . no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself'; 'Weep not for me, weep for yourselves.' Even on the Cross, Jesus is Master of the situation: God must be worshipped, not pitied.

If the suffering which saves us were suffering which had existed for ages in the heart of the Father and His Eternal Son, then wherein would lie the special sacrifice in the Incarnation and the Crucifixion? The Cross itself would be a mere instance of 'exhibitionism': it would be revelation of what saves us, but not the saving act itself which the New Testament declares it to be. The teaching of the New Testament is not that we are saved by a sacrifice continually being effected in the heart of Eternal God, but that 'Christ hath suffered *once* (ἅπαξ) for sins . . . that he might bring us to God' (1 P 3^{18}). This surely implies that Christ did not suffer before His Incarnation, nor after His Exaltation. His sacrifice was effected and completed 'once for all by His life and death in the historical scene. 'It is finished.'

A. W. ARGYLE.

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The Cup Metaphor in Mark xiv. 36 and Parallels.

In Mk 14^{36}, Mt $26^{39.\ (42)}$, Lk 22^{42} (cf. Jn 18^{11}) and in Mk $10^{38.\ 39}$, Mt $20^{22.\ 23}$ Jesus uses the word ποτήριον metaphorically of His approaching sufferings. Had He in mind the metaphorical use of 'cup' in the O.T.?

Five Hebrew words for 'cup' occur in the O.T. Of these five three (אַגָּן, גָּבִיעַ, and קְשָׂוָה) are only used literally, while another (סַף) only occurs once, and that in a metaphorical sense. The main word (כּוֹס) is used some eleven times literally and some twenty times metaphorically. It is interesting to look at the passages, where סַף and כּוֹס are used metaphorically.

The one occurrence of סַף is Zec 12^{2}—'Behold, I will make Jerusalem a cup of reeling unto all the peoples round about. . . .'

The word כּוֹס occurs three times as a metaphor for what is desirable—Ps 16^{5}, 'The LORD is the portion . . . of my cup'; Ps 23^{5}, 'My cup runneth over'; Ps 116^{13}, 'the cup of salvation.' In the other seventeen occurrences it has a similar sense to that of סַף in Zec 12^{2}, and in every case is a metaphor for Divine punishment and is frequently associated with Divine wrath. Ps 11^{6}, 'Upon the wicked he shall rain snares; fire and brimstone, and burning wind shall be the portion of their cup.' Ps 75^{8}, 'in the hand of the LORD there is a cup, and the wine foameth; It is full of mixture, and he poureth out of the same: Surely the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them.' Is 51^{17} (twice), ^{22} (twice), 'Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk at the hand of the LORD the cup of his fury; thou hast drunken the bowl of the cup of staggering, and drained it . . . [*v.*^{21}] Therefore hear now this, thou afflicted, and drunken, but not with wine: [*v.*^{22}] thus saith thy Lord the LORD, and thy God that pleadeth the cause of his people, Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of staggering, even the bowl of the cup of my fury; thou shalt no more drink it again: [*v.*^{23}] and I will put it into the hand of them that afflict thee . . .' Jer $25^{15.\ 17.\ 28}$, 'For thus saith the LORD . . . unto me: Take the cup of the wine of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it. . . . Then took I the cup at the LORD's hand, and made all the nations to drink . . . And it shall be, if they refuse to take the cup at thine hand to drink . . .' Here it is worthwhile reading the whole passage. Jer 49^{12}, 'For thus saith the LORD: Behold, they to whom it pertained not to drink of the cup shall assuredly drink; and art thou he that shall altogether go unpunished? . . .' Jer 51^{7}, 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the LORD's hand, that made all the earth drunken . . .' La 4^{21}, 'The cup shall pass through unto thee also. . . . [*V.*^{22}] He will visit thine iniquity, O daughter of Edom. . . .' Ezk $23^{31.\ 32.\ 33}$ (twice), 'Thou hast walked in the way of thy sister; therefore will I give her cup into thine hand. . . . Thou shalt drink of thy sister's cup, which is deep and large: thou shalt be laughed to scorn and had in derision; it containeth much. Thou shalt be filled with drunkenness and sorrow, with the cup of astonishment and desolation, with the cup of thy sister Samaria. [*V.*^{34}] Thou shalt even drink it and drain it out. . . .' Hab 2^{16}, '. . . the cup

of the LORD's right hand shall be turned unto thee, and foul shame shall be upon thy glory.'

With these occurrences of סָחַף and גּוֹם we may compare passages containing the same idea without actually mentioning the cup. Ps 60^{3}, 'Thou hast made us to drink the wine of staggering.' Job 21^{20}, 'Let him drink of the wrath of the Almighty.' Ob ^{16}, '. . . so shall all the nations drink . . . and swallow down, and shall be as though they had not been.' Is 63^{6}, 'I trod down the peoples in mine anger, and made them drunk in my fury . . .' We may also note the similar use of the 'cup' metaphor in the N.T. in Rev 14^{10} 16^{19} 18^{3}.

In view of the above it hardly seems adequate to say, as some commentators do in connexion with the N.T. passages, simply that the 'cup' is used in the O.T. as a metaphor for suffering. Surely we must go further, and say that in the O.T. the metaphorical use of 'cup' refers predominantly to God's punishment of human sin. If Jesus did have the O.T. use of this metaphor in mind, then the O.T. use is of real importance in understanding the significance of these N.T. passages (particularly Mk 14^{36} and parallels) as part of the evidence for His own thought about His approaching sufferings and death. The cup, from which He shrinks, is not merely physical suffering, nor yet the spiritual anguish of perfect love met by hate. It is not merely that His heart is wrung by the sight of the wickedness of men. His cup is the cup of God's wrath against sin. We must connect Mk 14^{36} with the Cry of Dereliction on the Cross, which marks the veritable descent into hell of the sinless Son of God—His descent into the hell of utter separation from the Father—and with 2 Co 5^{21} or Gal 3^{13}. We can then understand why Jesus did not maintain the calm serenity, which many a brave man has maintained, in the face of death. The account of Gethsemane shows something quite different (ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν and περίλυπος ἕως θανάτου in Mark and the mention of the sweat in the Lucan parallel). In this connexion Luther has a striking saying, 'No one ever feared death so much as this Man' (Weimar Edit. 37, 326.)

There is one thing, that may seem to tell against this interpretation of Mk 14^{36}, and that is the fact that in Mk 10^{39} Jesus says that the two disciples will indeed drink His cup, which would rather suggest that here the cup means only martyrdom. But is it not possible that, while thinking of the cup with reference to Himself in the O.T. sense, He used the metaphor in a weakened sense with reference to the disciples?

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Water and Spirit (John iii. 5).

THERE is a possible interpretation of Jesus' words to Nicodemus, 'Except a man be born of water and of the spirit' (Jn 3^{5}), which I have not seen put forward in any of the more widely read Commentaries. It is this: That our Lord here is setting over against each other the *divine* and *human* factors involved in the new birth and entry into the Kingdom.

There seems to be fairly general agreement that 'water' refers to the rite of Baptism (Westcott, Dods, Macgregor); but it must be confessed that the various expositions of the significance of this reference are somewhat forced, and of doubtful value to the preacher. Dr. Dods speaks of it as the symbol of renunciation. Dr. Macgregor says, 'water, by cleansing, supplies the negative side, as the Spirit, by quickening, supplies the positive side, of the new creation.' Dr. Westcott, I think, comes nearer to it when he says, 'Christian baptism, the outward act of faith welcoming the promise of God, is incorporation into the Body of Christ.'

It seems to me that what is implied in Dr. Westcott's words is really the point which should be made explicit. Baptism is the human response to the activity of the Spirit of God, and these two elements must come together in a man before he can be born again and enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

In the actual experience of conversion, whether it be a sudden change, or a long process through the years, that is what happens. Through the teaching and influence of parents, or the Church, or some other agency, the Spirit illumines the mind and conscience, so that there come flashes of insight, a growing awareness of the truth of the gospel, a developing sense of the reality of God, and so on. But there is more than illumination. There is challenge. When a man sees these things he knows that he ought to do something about them. The truth awakens his conscience, and he feels called to make an appropriate response. That surely is the work of the Spirit: that, in brief, is what it means to be born of the Spirit, to be made alive to God and the whole spiritual realm.

But a man is not really born again, and does not find himself in the Kingdom until he makes the response which he knows is called for. He has his part to play, and not even God can do it for him. That is where his freedom of will comes in. There is a creative quality about it. He can choose to do what he ought, or he can choose to disobey, and on his choice the issue now rests.

Only when a man makes that right response to the moving of the Spirit does he really come to spiritual life, and take his place in the Kingdom of God.

But of course there is more to it than that. There is no such thing as a private Christian—one who makes a secret agreement with God in the matter of salvation, and keeps it to himself. To be born again is to be born into the Family of God, and a man must take his place in the Family, and acknowledge it to his brethren and to the world. Thus it comes about that our response to God's Spirit must be more than a decision of heart and will: it must come out into the open: it must show itself in a definite embracing of the Faith, a definite joining of the Fellowship. It must issue in Baptism. That rite, which is a human act

(although of divine authority and with divine grace), is the culmination of man's response to the work of God's Spirit. I suggest that it is in that aspect of Baptism that the significance of the words, 'born of water,' is to be found. That would make the teaching of this whole passage run as follows: To be born again a man must be awakened to God by the Spirit of God, and must make his full and open response to God in that sacrament which He has appointed. He must 'be born of water and of the Spirit.'

Such an interpretation does justice to the distinction which Jesus makes, in the 3rd and 5th verses, between seeing the Kingdom and entering the Kingdom. How plain it is that until a man has been awakened by the Spirit he cannot *see* the Kingdom, and how equally plain that until he not only is awakened by the Spirit, *but suitably responds to the Spirit*, he cannot *enter* the Kingdom! In other words, *v.*[5] is not simply a repetition of *v.*[3]: it contains an extension of our Lord's thought and teaching.

Again, this way of regarding Jesus' words tones in with the circumstances of Nicodemus's approach to Jesus. It does seem as though his visit was in secret, and he may have been contemplating the possibility of accepting Jesus' teaching in a private way, without openly committing himself to the new cause. Apparently Joseph of Arimathea did that. But our Lord's insistence on being born of '*water*' as well as of *the Spirit* was calculated to show him that there could be no reservations. If he was to enter the Kingdom at all, he must openly take his stand with Christ.

And finally, the reference to Baptism does not apply merely to adult or believer baptism. It is equally true in the case of Infant Baptism. In the main stream of our Protestant tradition the baptism of a child is only the first part of the whole rite. *Viewed as a human act* (and this is the aspect which is before us here) the sacrament is not completed until the vows made by parents or guardian have been confirmed by the person himself, and, publicly professing his faith, he takes his full place in the Church of Jesus Christ.

Here, then, is an interpretation of a difficult passage which harmonizes with other elements in the whole incident, and lends itself to effective homiletical usage.

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Entre Nous.

Roman Catholicism and Freedom.

Most educated people have an antipathy to being identified with 'anti-Romanism.' It is associated in their minds with Kensitites and 'Protestant action' and Jacob Primmer, and it smells of bigotry and narrowmindedness. No doubt, we feel, Romanism has been a persecuting body in the past, but we have emerged from the dark ages of intolerance, we have all learned a broader spirit. After all, Protestantism was intolerant in the past and persecuted Romanists. Let bygones be bygones. The days of tyranny for opinion are gone (we soon forget Nazism).

Well, it is true that, in the mercy of God, we have escaped, by the skin of our teeth, from a very vile form of oppression and persecution because of opinion. We might have congratulated ourselves that the modern world had learned to believe in freedom but for the history of the last six years and the years that went before. Over these years has been written the famous sentence: power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. What Rome claims is absolute power in the realm of the soul. Is she exempt from the temptation this presents? That is the question that was faced in a book, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated—*Roman Catholicism and Freedom*, by the late Professor C. J. Cadoux, M.A., D.D., D.Litt., of Mansfield College, Oxford. It was first published in 1936 and it has now reached its third edition (Independent Press; 7s. 6d. net).

There was nothing narrow about Dr. Cadoux. He had a case to state, and he stated it with candour and an attractive largemindedness. But he was unflinching in the statement of truth. There is nothing here of theology, nothing about transubstantiation or indulgences or the confessional or any Roman dogma. It is the question of freedom that is raised. Would Rome persecute to-day? That is the main question Dr. Cadoux asked and answered.

It is obviously a very urgent question owing to the advance of Romanism in our country. And Dr. Cadoux gathers together a very large body of evidence on the point. It is all carefully documented and covers most of the spheres of human activity. But perhaps the most striking thing in the book is the extract Dr. Cadoux prints from an Introduction Father Ronald Knox wrote in 1926 to a book on the Inquisition. Father Knox is perhaps best known by his exciting thrillers, but he is a notable figure in Roman Catholic circles. Here is what he wrote. The mediæval plea for religious persecution 'sounds nonsense, of course, to those Protestants (and they are numerous) who think in the back of their minds that the religious truths they hold are not really certain, only probable opinions. But the faith which is strong enough to make martyrs is strong enough to make persecutors . . . in the abstract a culpable apostasy which threatens to propagate apostasy is a sin worse than murder.'

Under certain conditions, therefore, 'it is possible that some European country of the future might banish innovators in religion as they were banished from France under Louis XIV. I do not say that would certainly be done; I do not say that it would be politic. I only say that

it seems to me a quite reasonable attitude for a Catholic country to take up. . . . They would certainly prohibit public attacks on religion; conceivably they would deport the agitators from their soil.' In 1927, in his own book, 'The Belief of Catholics,' Father Knox wrote: 'You cannot bind over the Catholic Church, as the price of your adhesion to her doctrines, to waive all right of invoking the secular arm in defence of her own principles.'

'The circumstances in which such a possibility could be realized are indeed sufficiently remote. . . . Given such circumstances, is it certain that the Catholic government of the nation would have no right to insist on Catholic education being universal (which is a form of coercion), and even to deport or imprison those who unsettle the minds of its subjects with new doctrines? It is certain that the Church would claim that right for the Catholic government, even if considerations of prudence forbade its exercise in fact. . . . And for those reasons a body of Catholic patriots, entrusted with the government of a Catholic state, will not shrink even from oppressive measures in order to perpetuate the secure domination of Catholic principles among their fellow-countrymen.'

There is the doctrine of the right and duty of persecution starkly stated, imprisonment and 'the secular arm' for differing from Roman doctrine wherever Rome has the power. It would have been almost incredible that a Roman Catholic priest of the eminence of Mgr. Knox could publish such a doctrine and such a claim. Macaulay was not exaggerating when in his essay on Sir James Mackintosh he wrote of Rome's attitude: 'I am in the right and you are in the wrong. When you are the stronger you ought to tolerate me; for it is your duty to tolerate truth. But when I am the stronger, I shall persecute you; for it is my duty to persecute error.'

Roman propaganda is unceasing and far-reaching—in the home, the school, the press, in diplomacy and in all departments of public life. Rome teaches that marriages which are not celebrated by Roman priests are not marriages at all. She insists that the children of mixed marriages should be brought up as Romanists. She uses constant pressure on newspapers and publishers, when possible, to prevent the circulation of hostile views. But of all this no one can complain. If people do not like this they need not suffer it. But at any rate it is foolish to refuse to consider the threat that this totalitarian claim levels at the freedom which is our dearest bought privilege. Dr. Cadoux did a great service to the cause of truth by his scholarly and courageous book.

F. J. Rae.

Thomas Chalmers in Ethiopia.

The Rev. A. T. Houghton, General Secretary of the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, has an article in the November-December issue of *World Dominion* with the title 'In Ethiopia To-day.' Of the Emperor, by whom he was received lately, he says: 'One must sympathize with and respect the Emperor—a sincere and earnest Evangelical Christian, while still a devout member of the Ethiopian Church—in the slow and laborious process of bringing enlightenment to a priesthood and a people largely ignorant of the truths of God's Word. . . . In a conversation with Dr. Donald Barnhouse of Philadelphia, some months earlier, the Emperor is reported to have stated: "I know I am saved, not by anything that is of character nor the works of the human heart, but by the blood of Jesus Christ." In very much the same language Ras Kassa, cousin of the Emperor, and one of the wealthiest landowners, told me of his personal faith in Christ, saying that he believed only in the blood of Jesus, who died to take away our sins. We talked of the danger of an oral tradition divorced from the sheet anchor of the Word of God, and I referred to the liberty we enjoyed in England through the labours of those who had given us God's Word in our own language. Ras Kassa went into an inner room and produced a small red-bound leather volume, borrowed from the royal library, to which he said he owed much spiritually. The text was in Amharic, but the title page in English read: "Scripture references for Sabbath school teachers, compiled by Thomas Chalmers, D.D., translated into the Amharic, and printed at the Chrischona Press in Switzerland, in 1866." So the great Scottish divine had contributed to the spiritual enlightenment in royal circles in Ethiopia!'

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[1] S. P. T. Prideaux, *The Making of Sermons*.

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